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rhythm and Intonation in colloquial newari¹

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1. Introduction: Theory

In the analysis of speech or a series of utterances it is of advantage to begin with the syllable. A syllable however is an ambiguous term and there is yet no satisfactory definition of the syllable as a unit of speech production and perception. From the articulation point of view a syllable can be regarded as a movement of the vocal organs or rather the respiratory muscles referred to by Abercrombie as a 'chest-pulse', 'breath-pulse' or a 'syllable-pulse'. A syllable therefore can be taken as a minimum unit of an utterance, either in its audible or inaudible forms.

Certain chest pulses may be more prominent than others, i.e. a chest-pulse may carry more muscular force, and this produces what is known as a 'stress-pulse' or a 'stressed syllable'. Speech however is a continuous sequence of movements in successive and for the most part regular intervals of time. It is the combination and coordinated uses of 'chest-pulses' and 'stress-pulses' that determine the rhythm pattern of a language. Following Abercrombie it can be said that chest-pulses and stress-pulses constitute the two main kinds of speech rhythm:

- (a) a 'syllable-timed rhythm' in which syllables follow each other in a sequence of regular intervals;
- (b) a 'stress-timed rhythm' in which the stressed syllables occur at equal intervals of time or are 'isochronous'.

Abercrombie further maintains that all languages of the world are spoken either with a syllable-timed rhythm or a stress-timed rhythm and not both. While some would contest this view on the ground that some languages (such as Thai) use both types of rhythm (Theeraphan, personal communication), it is my impression that Newari has a distinct stress-timed rhythm although stress as a phonetic feature is not linguistically significant at the word-level in the language.

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1. This is a revised and slightly expanded paper originally written for the course in General Phonetics held at the Central Institute of English Language, Bangkok (Jan-April, 1976). A brief note on Newari intonation has been added to the present paper in view of the related nature of these two aspects of connected speech. I am indebted to Mrs. Lindsay Friedman for valuable suggestions on the first draft of this paper.

Since rhythm is an important factor in the intelligibility of speech, I wish to examine briefly in this paper the nature and function of rhythm in Newari based on a portion of data representing my own speech as a native speaker of the language.

For the sake of convenience I selected a short story called 'The North Wind and the Sun' for its narrative content and translated it into Standard Newari.¹ While recording this material on the tape I assumed myself to be the story teller and tried to convey the style and feelings of colloquial speech. The text has been arranged in monosyllabic and polysyllabic words, and what this paper seeks to do is to analyze the foot structure as a rhythmic unit and to represent the relative syllable durations based on impressionistic judgements and spectrographic evidence of certain sample utterances. This procedure, I hope, will serve to identify the rhythmic unit as a norm of tempo variation as well as to indicate the time units relatively in triple time.² I believe that this approach can help us to discover the rhythmic patterns in colloquial Newari.

1.2. Method: Rhythmic unit

Text 'The North Wind and the Sun'

The North Wind and the Sun were disputing which was the stronger, when a traveller came along rapped in a warm cloak. They agreed that the one who first succeeded in making the traveller take his cloak off should be considered stronger than the other. Then the North Wind blew as hard as he could, but the more he blew the more closely did the traveller fold his cloak around him; and at last the North Wind gave up the attempt. Then the Sun shone out warmly and immediately the traveller took off his cloak. And so the North Wind was obliged to confess that the Sun was the stronger of the two.

Translation: 'फय् व निमाया बाखँ'

फय् व निमा: या सु बल्ला धका त्वापु याना चोँकले ह्मह लूमगु
गा न्यया वम्ह मनु ह्मह वल । इमिसं थो खं कोहितकी व मनु या गा
तोके फुम्ह बल्ला थहरे जुई धका । अले फय् व वया बल दतले फय् वयका
बिल । तर फय् व: लिसे व मनुन थ:गु गा फन भूतु भुना वन । उकीं फय्
निराश जुया तोता बिल । अले निमा नं फहिँफक्को ता न्वेक निमा
तोय्कल । तुरन्त व मनुन थ:गु गा तोतल । उकीं फय् व थ: सिबे निमाहे
बल्ला धका स्विकार याय् माल: ।

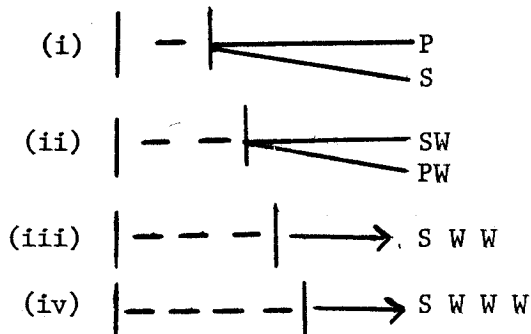
Analysis:

³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰

ph^h E w^w nⁿ j^j iⁱ | ba^a ja^a | su^s b^b ə^ə l^l | la:^l d^d ə^ə | ka:^k | lapu^l | jana^j |
 ts^t ə^ə ŋ^ŋ b^b ə^ə l^l E^E | ts^t ə^ə m^m ə^ə | lumugu^l ga^a | nⁿ j^j ə^ə | w^w ə^ə : m^m ə^ə | p^p ə^ə | m^m ə^ə | nu:ⁿ |
 ts^t ə^ə m^m ə^ə w^w ə^ə | l^l ə:^l | imiⁱ | s^s ə^ə ŋ^ŋ | t^t ə^ə h^h ə^ə | kots^k h^h itⁱ ə^ə | ki^k su^s |
 nⁿ ə^ə w^w ə^ə m^m ə^ə | nu:ⁿ | ja^a ga^a | toke^t | p^p ə^ə t^t ə^ə | w^w ə^ə b^b ə^ə l^l | la:^l | th^h ə^ə f^f e^e |
 dzui^d d^d ə^ə | ka:^k | l^l E:^l | p^p ə^ə h^h ə^ə E^E | nⁿ ə^ə w^w ə^ə ja^a b^b ə^ə l^l | d^d ə^ə t^t l^l E^E |
 p^p ə^ə E^E | w^w ə^ə e^e ka^a biⁱ | l^l ə:^l | t^t ə^ə r^r ə^ə | p^p ə^ə h^h ə^ə E^E w^w ə^ə : liⁱ | p^p ə^ə w^w ə^ə m^m ə^ə | nu:ⁿ | nⁿ ə^ə | t^t ə^ə h^h ə^ə : gu^g | ga^a dz^d h^h ə^ə nⁿ |
 bu:^b tu:^t | bu:^b na^a w^w ə^ə nⁿ ə:ⁿ | u^u | ki^k ŋ^ŋ | p^p ə^ə h^h ə^ə E^E nⁿ j^j iⁱ | fa^f s^s dzu^d | ja:^j |
 to^t ta^a biⁱ | l^l ə:^l | ə^ə | l^l E^E nⁿ j^j iⁱ | ba:^b | nⁿ ə^ə p^p ə^ə | ts^t ə^ə h^h iⁱ ŋ^ŋ | p^p ə^ə h^h ə^ə : k^k ə^ə |
 ta^t nⁿ E^E k^k ə^ə | nⁿ j^j iⁱ | ba^a | t^t E^E k^k ə^ə l^l ə^ə | tu^t | r^r ə^ə nⁿ t^t ə^ə | w^w ə^ə m^m ə^ə | nu:ⁿ | nⁿ ə^ə | t^t ə^ə h^h ə^ə : gu^g | ga^a |
 to^t t^t ə^ə | l^l ə:^l | u^u | ki^k ŋ^ŋ | p^p ə^ə h^h ə^ə E^E nⁿ ə^ə | t^t ə^ə h^h ə^ə : si^s | b^b E:^b |
 nⁿ j^j iⁱ | ba^a | h^h E^E b^b ə^ə | la^l d^d ə^ə | ka:^k | si:^s kar^k | ja^j je^j ma^a | l^l ə:^l |

From the analysis of this primary data it is possible to arrive at three hypothetical conclusions:

- (a) Each foot of an utterance constitute the rhythmic unit, and that the structure of a foot normally consists of salient and weak syllables.
- (b) When each sentence is said in normal speed the stressed or salient syllable is more prominent or longer than the weak or unstressed syllable.
- (c) The different types of feet as units of rhythm can be summarized as follows:



We thus have four kinds of feet in the given data, but in terms of foot structure only two types can be extracted as relevant:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} S \\ P \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow W_{0-3}$$

1.3. Method: Syllable durations

Having looked at the rhythmic variation in some detail, I shall use the same data to represent the relative syllable durations. These have been determined for the most part by my intuition as a native speaker and partly by the use of spectrograms in a few doubtful cases. The numbers 1 to 3 or $1\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{1}{2}$ etc.⁶ indicate the relative duration of each syllable, while the same number appearing under two syllables indicate similar length within a given environment.

Analysis :

p ^h əwən ^j i	ba ja	subə l	la:	^ də ka:	^ lapu	jana
2: 1/2 1/2	2: 1	2: 1	3	2: 1 3 3	1 1/2: 1/2	1 1/2: 1 1/2
tsəŋbə lE	^ ts ^h əmə	lumugu ga	n ^j əja	wə: mə	^ mə	nu:
1 1/2: 3/4 3/4	2: 1	1: 3/4 3/4 1/2	2: 1	2 1/2: 1/2	1: 2	3
ts ^h əməwə	l ə:	^ imi	səŋ	thok ^h ə	kots ^h itə	kisu
2: 1/2 1/2	3	^ 1 1/2: 1 1/2	3	2: 1	2: 1/2 1/2	2: 1
nāwəmə	nu: jaga	toke	p ^h ətə	wəbə l	la:	t ^h ə ^h fe
1 1/2: 3/4 3/4	2: 1/2 1/2	1 1/2: 1/2	1 1/2: 1 1/2 3	1 1/2: 1 1/2	3	2: 1
dzui də	ka:	^ lE:	p ^h əE	nə uja bə l	dət lE	
2: 1/2 1/2	3 3	1: 2	3 1/2	1 1/2: 1/4 1/4	2: 1	
p ^h əE	wəE kabi	l ə:	^ tərə	p ^h əE wə: li	sewəmə	
3	1 1/2: 1 1/2	3	3	2: 1 1 1/2	2: 1/2 1/2	
nu: nə	t ^h ə: gu	ga dz ^h ən	butu	buna wə	nə:	^ 1/2
2: 1	2: 1	2:	1 1/2: 1 1/2	1 1/2: 1 1/2	3	
u	kiŋ p ^h əE n ^j i	fas dzu	ja:	totabi	l ə:	^
2 1/2	1 1/2: 3/4 3/4	1 1/2: 1 1/2	3	1 1/2: 1 1/2	3	^
^ ə	lE n ^j i	ba:	nə ^h pə	ts ^h iŋ	p ^h ə: kə	tā ^h pE kə
1: 2	2: 1	3	1 3/4: 1 1/4	3	2: 1	2: 1/2 1/2
ba	tEkə l ə	^ tu	rənt ə	wəmə	nu:	nə
3	1 1/2: 1 1/2	1: 2	2: 1	1 1/2: 1 1/2	2: 1	^ 3
t ^h ə: guga	^ totə	l ə:	^ u	kiŋ	p ^h əE nə	^
2: 1/2 1/2	3	2: 1	3	3	2: 1	1
t ^h ə: si	bE:	n ^j i	ba hE bə l	la: də	ka:	^
2: 1	3	1: 2	1 1/2: 3/4 3/4	2: 1	3	3
si:kar	jaje ma	l ə:	^			^
2: 1	1 1/2: 1/2	3	3			3

1.4. In conclusion, this brief analyses serve to confirm that Newari utterances do not have isochronous sequence of syllables but rather seem to be regulated by regular stress pattern. Another important point to emerge from this is that the judgement on syllable duration tend to be less arbitrary when it is compared with and co-related to the stress pattern.

Since the tempo of speech is never constant it is to be expected that variations in stress, pitch and rhythm all play their part in giving an utterance its salient qualities. Another factor in the formation of syllable length is vowel length, and it is my impression that both stress and vowel length contribute to syllable duration. The whole rhythm pattern of Newari sentences seems to depend on this relationship.

Finally, we may note briefly the problems involved in measuring syllable length. The main problem is in knowing accurately what to measure. It is not simply a matter of measuring between point (a) and (b), but there is considerable difficulty in selecting these points especially when we cannot decide with certainty on the beginning of aspiration, the onset of voicing, the end of a formant transition and so on. If our decisions in such cases are to be arbitrary, we cannot obtain accurate measurements. Hence I have relied more on impressionistic judgement rather than mathematical accuracy.

2. Intonation Patterns in Newari

Intonation, according to Abercrombie, consists of the non-segmental or suprasegmental features of speech. These features are divided broadly into those components which influence the general quality of the voice, and those components which arise out of the way the voice is handled, i.e. the features of what he calls 'voice dynamics'. Apart from the features of voice quality, of which I shall not be concerned here, I shall concentrate on only one aspect of voice dynamics, that is the fluctuation of voice pitch or 'speech melody' as the basic intonation marker of any speech. Pitch fluctuations or melodic patterns in speech are to be found in all spoken languages, but "there is the greatest diversity in the patterns which make it up, and in the nature of the linguistic functions it performs." (Abercrombie, 1967, p. 104).

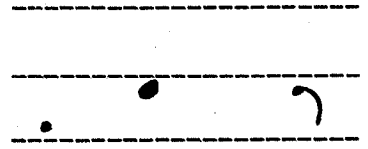
In this section of the paper I wish to examine very briefly and in a tentative way the nature of these patterns in Newari and how they relate to syntactic units such as clauses and sentences. Since there is no significant lexical tone in Newari, the role of speech melody at the word level is ruled out, but the basic intonation patterns can be identified and analyzed in terms of pitch-levels or pitch contours. The semantic and grammatical consequences of Newari intonation will not be explicitly discussed but such implications, if any, will be obvious from the given data.

(a) Examples of Tune I:



kə ne wə ni

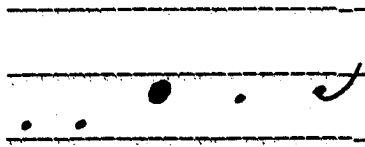
(He) will go tomorrow



wə t^hə^u wə i

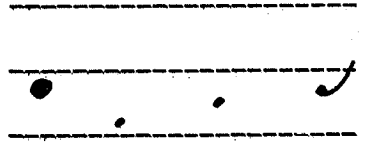
He will come today

(b) Examples of Tune II:



gə bə lE wə ni:

When will (he) go ?



wə^u jæ p^həi la

He may be able to do it

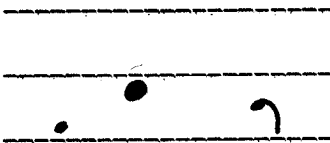
These two intonation patterns seem to relate to syntactic structure in the following way:

Tune I occurs with (a) unmarked statements, (b) questions containing a question-marker at the end of the utterance, (c) commands, and (d) statements with implication.

Tune II occurs in (a) marked statements, (b) questions without a question-marker at the end, and (c) exclamations.

The examples given below for each of these variations represent two tone groups, simple and compound which can be taken as the units of intonation or the units of information. In the transcription the syllable or word pronounced with the emphatic stress is marked with a double stress mark":

2.2. (a) Unmarked statements:



wə wE p^hu

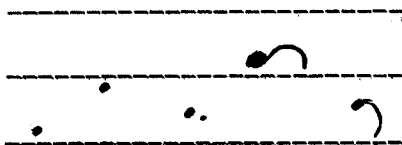
He may come



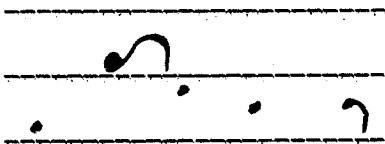
dzi wə ne ma:

I don't want to go

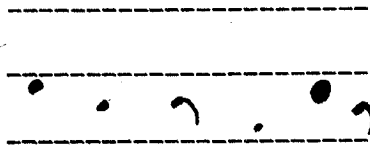
(b) Questions with question-marker:



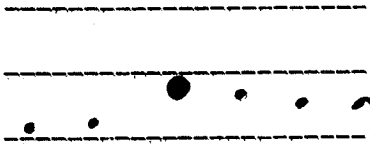
kə ne wə "ni: la
Will (he) go tomorrow ?



dzi "hE mə dzil la
s it really not possible :

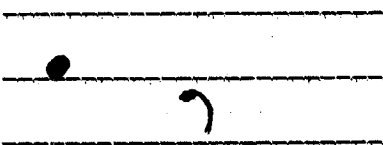


wə̃ jæ p^hi, mə p^hi la
He can do it, can't he ?

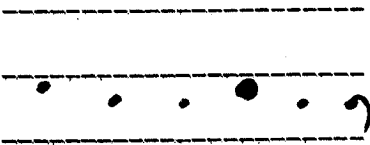


gə be "lE wE gu lE
When are you coming
definitely ?

(c) Commands:



də i bu
Tell him !



ts^hə̃ mə ja ɸe mədzu
You have to do it by all
means



kə ne "hE wE ma:

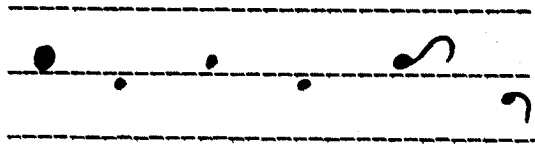
(You) must come tomorrow (without fail).

(d) Statements with implication:



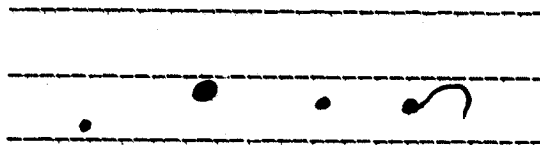
"ts^hə̃ jæ p^hu sa dzu:
w

I hope you can do it (in fact I want you to do it)



wə̃ jæ p^hə̃ i gu "k^hə̃ i la

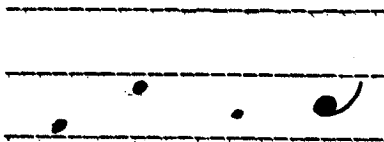
I wonder if he can do it (I doubt it very much)



tsə "lak^h m̩ə k^hə:

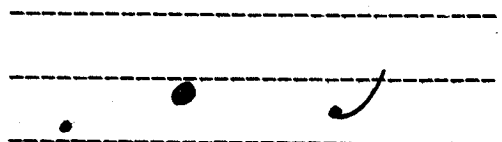
He is very clever (sarcastically used: I believe him to be very dumb)

2.3. (a) Marked statements:



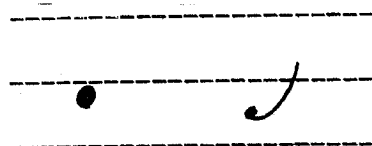
kə nẽ wə ni:

(He) will go tomorrow
(assurance)



wə t^hə̃̃ u wə i:

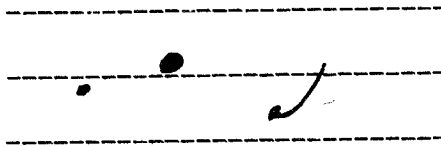
He will come today (reaffirmation)



d^həi

bu:
w

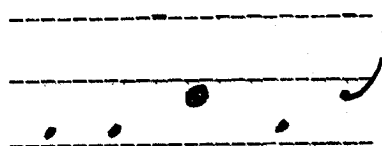
Tell him (reminder)



a: hE ja:

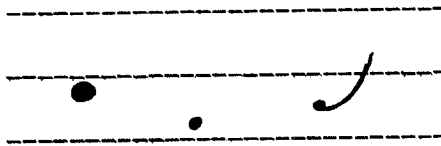
Do it now (encouragement)

(b) Questions without question-marker:



gə bə lE wə ni:

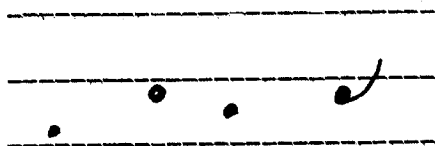
When will (he) go ?



ts^hɛ hə t^hɛ

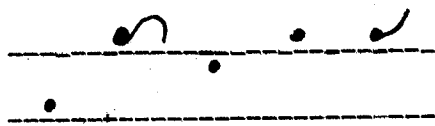
Why such a hurry ?

(c) Exclamations:



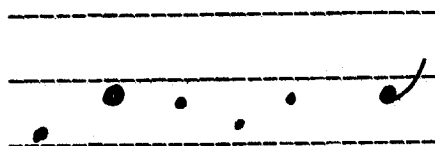
ts^hu jɛ gu "ka:

What am I to do now !



gə "ja gu bā la:

What a beautiful thing !



gə ja mə mənʉ "lʃa:

What a silly person !

2.4. The uses of Tune I and Tune II:

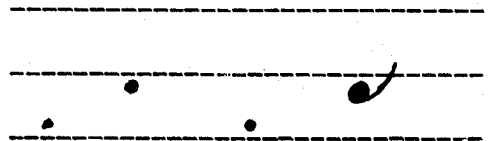
The contrastive uses of Tune I and Tune II can be illustrated in the following utterances:

(a) Unmarked and marked statements:



kə ˈne wə ni

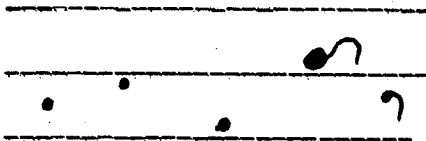
(He) will go tomorrow



kə ne wə ˈni:

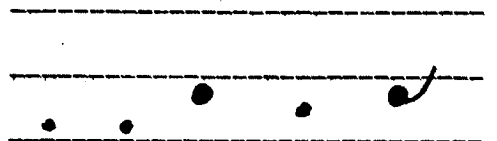
(He) will go tomorrow (assurance)

(b) Questions with & without question-marker:



kə ne wə ˈni: la

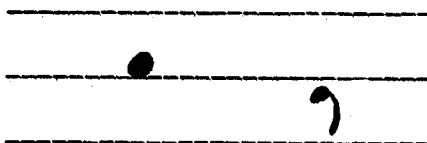
Will (he) go tomorrow



gə bə lE wə ˈni:

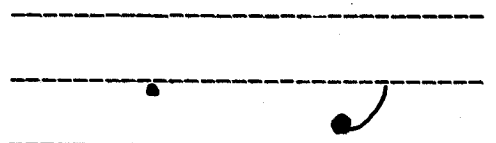
When will (he) go ?

(c) Commands with & without implication:



ˈdɛ i bu

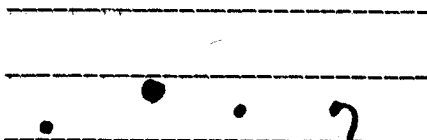
Tell him !



dɛ i ˈbu:

Tell him (reminder)

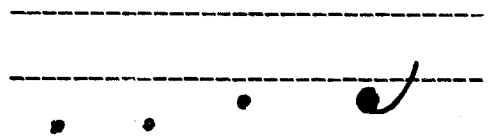
(d) Statements with implication & exclamation:



tsʰu ˈjɛ gu ka

(Tell me) what I should do.

(not that anything can be done now).



tsʰu jɛ gu ˈka:

What am I to do now !

From the above examples the intonation pattern seems to depend on the position of the stress word in the sentence. If the stressed word occurs in the final syllable there is a corresponding rise in tone. Whereas if the stressed word occurs sentence-initially or medially the final syllable invariably registers a falling tone. This implies that stress and pitch are not two separate systems but function as basic components of Newari intonation, or the rhythm of extended discourse (as suggested in Section 1 above). The data examined is so limited, however, that it would be unwise to assume that pitch is predictable from stress. What is apparent is that stress and pitch elements do certainly have a linguistic function, although in Newari intonation does not operate in the same sense as in English.

This brief analysis and the conclusions drawn from it are however very tentative as they represent a small corpus of sample utterances which may not have yielded "significant generalizations" on the broader patterns of usage. A more extensive work is obviously required before we can hope to capture the inherent complexities of Newari speech.

Footnotes

1. Newari as spoken in Kathmandu is considered to be the standard dialect, and is the medium of press and publication. There are however several distinct dialects of Newari within Kathmandu Valley.
2. See below under 'Syllable Duration'.
3. The vertical lines (|) indicate foot boundary as well as stressed syllables. In certain feet however the silent stress indicates the salient syllable.
4. The abbreviations S and W stand for salient and weak syllables.
5. P = pause. The caret | ^ | also marked with P is used to indicate 'silent stress' or pause which is taken as an integral part of the rhythm pattern of each utterance.
6. Here the length of syllables within each foot have been measured in terms of three time units, e.g.

| 3 | = 3 time units

| 2: | 1 | = 2 time units (salient) followed by
1 time unit

| 1: | 1 | 1 | = 3 time units shared by three syllables
within one foot.

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case study of small farmers in naktajhijh dhanukha, nepal

R. P. Yadav*

INTRODUCTION

This case study of small farmers, made in Naktajhijh village panchayat near the selected FAO project village Sakhwa, is to determine the attitude and reactions of small owner operators, share croppers and landless agricultural labourers towards the rural institutions. It deals mainly with six institutions and their organizational set-up, their mode of operations and interaction with the farmers at the village level.

These institution are: agricultural extension, credit, cooperative, land reform, marketing and village government.

This study also provides the basis for a meaningful comparison between areas with and without the FAO Field Action Project.

CHAPTER I

VILLAGE BACKGROUND

Naktajhijh Panchayat is located along the Janakpur-Mahendranagar Road which meets the EAST-WEST HIGHWAY at Dhalkebar. Naktajhijh is about 19 kilometers north of Janakpurdham, the headquarters of Janakpur Zone and only 5 kilometers off the EAST-WEST HIGHWAY. Thus, this panchayat is ideally situated with respect to transport networks. It is only 4 kilometers away from the Sakhuwa Village, the FAO Field Action Project Area.

Naktajhijh panchayat consists of the following five villages: Naktajhijh, Raghapur, Sukhjore, Sripur and Bishrampur.

The total area of this village panchayat is 1221.26 hectares, of which the low land is 412.08 hectares and the upland 590.19 hectares. The total uncultivated land is 218.69 hectares. Year round irrigation facility is available for only 67.7 hectares of land.

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According to the 1971 population census, the total population of the panchayat is 3988 of which 2039 are male and 1740 are female. The total number of households is 203 with an average family size of 5.4.

Janakpur-Mahendranagar road which traverses this village, is an all-weather road, while the villages within and outside the panchayat are connected by seasonal dirt roads. The common means of transportation in the village is either bullock-cart or by foot labour.

The topography of this village is more or less flat. The land is fertile with alluvial to sandy loam soil. There is a potential for ground water irrigation through artesian tubewells. The farmers report that the water level is only 30 ft. below the surface.

About 65 per cent of the farm households have less than 3 hectares of land in this village. Among the farmers who have less than 1 hectare of land, 39% of them cultivate their own land and also work as agricultural labourers on others' farms while 61% of them rent in others' lands. Among the farmers who own land within the range of 1 hectare to 3 hectares, 61 per cent of them cultivate their land and occasionally work on a labour exchange basis, while 36% of them are tenants as well as owners. Only 3% of this group of farmers rent out their land.

Fragmentation of land holdings is another limitation for small farmers. The average size of low land (khet) and upland (pakho) holding for farmers having less than 1 hectare of land is 0.13 and 0.12 hectares respectively. Similarly, for farmers owning one to three hectares of land, the average size of fragmented plot is 0.25 hectares for khet as well as pakho.

The main crops grown in this village are paddy, wheat, sugarcane, finger-millet, tobacco, pulses and vegetables. About 15% of the land is used for early paddy, 50% for late paddy, 15% for wheat and about 40% for other crops. The cropping intensity with low value cash crops is about 140. Land is rather poorly utilized for early paddy and wheat crops mainly due to lack of an irrigation facility in the village area. Irrigation is the felt need for almost all farmers in that area. Most of the land remains fallow in the winter.

Hardinath Agricultural Farm is situated about 10 kilometers south of this village and only 1.5 kilometers east of the Janakpur-Mahendranagar Highway. The average rainfall recorded at this farm in 1975 was 1700 milli-meter while the average maximum temperature was 30.45° c and the average minimum temperature was 18.66° c. The hottest month was April with highest temperature of 36.88° c while the coldest month was December with 10.64° c.

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The Janakpur Agricultural Development Project (JADP), a bilateral technical cooperation project between HMG/Nepal and the Government of Japan in the field of agricultural development, has its head office at Naktajhih, the case study village area. However, JADP has no specific programme in this village except the general extension programme conducted by the District Agricultural Development Office, Dhanukha.

There are two schools, one primary and the other middle. There is also a health post with only one health assistant. The village has neither any drinking water supply scheme or provision for electricity. They drink water from open wells and use dried cowdung or wood for fuel and depend on lanterns or wick-lamps to light the house.

CHAPTER II

INSTITUTIONAL SETTING

(a) Agricultural Extension

Agricultural extension service was initiated in an organized manner only after 1959 with the establishment of the Agricultural Extension Section in the Department of Agriculture. Later, in 1966 a separate Department of Agricultural Extension was created at the national level with six regional offices. This programme was extended to 51 districts by opening the District Agriculture Development Offices by the end of 1971.

In 1972, a reorganization in agriculture took place and a section of agricultural extension and training was retained under the Department of Agriculture. Under the new set-up, a Deputy Director General acts as a staff personnel to the Director General of the Department and is responsible to coordinate, supervise, provide policy guidelines and direct the activities of agricultural extension services, training and rural youth programmes at the national level. This new set-up also corresponds to the regional corridor development concept of His Majesty's Government. The organizational chart of the Department of Agriculture is presented in Appendix 1. Four regional agriculture directorate offices were opened in the four development regions. The organizational chart of Regional Agriculture Directorate is presented in Appendix 2. Presently, 60 out of 75 districts of Nepal have been covered with a moderate extension programmes by opening Agricultural Development Offices headed by an agricultural graduate. Junior technicians (J.T.) and Junior Technical Assistants (J.T.A.), the grassroot level extension agents, are posted in the villages. The work of the extension agents is supervised by the District Agricultural Development Officer. The number of JT and JTA in a district depends upon the intensity of extension programme and the area and

population of the district. Altogether, there are about 800 JT/JTA involved in the extension work throughout the country which indicates a poor coverage, the ratio of extension agent to farm household being 1:3000.

In order to launch an extension programme effectively as well as smoothly, agricultural development coordination committees were formed at the central regional, district and village level to bring cooperation and coordination among various concerned departments and agencies (see Appendix 3).

The JT/JTA are in direct contact with farmers and responsible to motivate and convince them about improved methods of farming by conducting result-demonstrations, farm tours and agricultural fairs. They are also to teach farmers improved methods of farming by conducting method-demonstrations, farmers training programmes, and farm and home visits. Besides, they assist farmers in obtaining agricultural inputs and credits.

In the regular extension programmes, every JT/JTA is assigned to distribute a specific amount of improved seeds and fertilizers and a certain number of fruit plants and livestock to the farmers. They are also required to conduct a specified number of farm leaders training and result and method-demonstrations. Once they fulfill these assigned targets, they complete their obligations. This physical target-oriented approach tilts them toward big farmers rather than small farmers in executing extension programmes.

In Dhanusa district, the agricultural development officer is provided with a four-wheel driven jeep while JTA's, who have to live in the village, have no such means of transportation. In the case study area, the assigned JTA has to cover two more panchayats besides Naktajhih. Thus his presence is hardly felt by the farmers in this panchayat.

(b) Credit Services:

1. Institutional Sources: A formal banking institution to serve the agricultural sector began in 1963 with the establishment of the Cooperative Bank which in 1968 was turned into the Agricultural Development Bank of Nepal (ADB/N). Later, the Land Reform Savings Corporation, established in 1966 as a result of the Land Act, 1964, to collect and utilize savings deposited under the Compulsory Savings Scheme, was merged with the ADB/N in 1973. Thus, ADB/N, became the principal development bank to provide financial assistance to the agriculture sector either directly to the individual farmers or through cooperative and village committees. It provides short, medium and long term credit to purchase inputs such as fertilizers, improved seeds, insecticides, farm machinery, livestock, draft animals, irrigation pumps and tractors. It also provides loans for establishment and operation of small scale agro-based industries.

The head office of ADB/N is in Kathmandu with four regional offices and a network of 133 branches throughout the kingdom. At the central level, there are six divisions with divisional heads responsible for a functional direction of the regional, district and branch offices (see Appendix 4).

ADB/N has followed a decentralized approach to the approval of loan, setting a maximum limit for the amount to be approved by the branches, regional offices and the General Manager.

The bank does not need any collateral to make available loans to cooperatives and village committees. Generally, collaterals are needed for individuals to be creditworthy. Land farmstead, machinery are taken as collaterals depending upon the valuation and form of the collateral, the bank grants loans upto 40 to 70% of the value of assets put as collateral. Usually, registered land is taken as collateral. However, in the case of tenants, certificate of tenancy is also used as collaterals. For production loans to farmers (having less than 2.70 hectare land in the Terai), the bank authority can grant a loan up to Rs. 5000 and the loan registration paper without making spot valuation of his lands. This is done (because valuation on the spot may take more time) to expedite the loan process.

ADB/N has developed a standard loan application and appraisal form. The members of any cooperative society can apply to the society for a loan and receive loan from the society at the recommendation of the society with final approval from the branch offices of ADB/N.

On the directives of the Nepal Rastra Bank (the Central Bank), the commercial banks (Nepal Bank Ltd., and Rastriya Baniya Bank) have also started to invest in the rural sector since 1975. These banks are obliged to invest a minimum of 7 per cent of their total deposit liabilities in the rural and agricultural sectors.

2. Non-institutional Sources: Non-institutional sources of credit play a dominant role in meeting productive as well as unproductive (marriage festival, funeral and other social expenses) credit needs of the majority of farmers. Agricultural Credit Survey indicates that about 38% of the farmers get loans from non-institutional sources. As far as small farmers, share-croppers and landless labourers are concerned, the non-institutional sources are presumably the only existing credit sources presently in Nepal, although some efforts have been directed to reach this target group through institutional sources. Money lenders, rice merchants, landlords and relatives are the main sources of non-institutional loans. There is no definite loan procedure. Such loans involve personal risk and mutual trust. Usually the interest rates range from 30 to 50 per cent.

(c) Cooperatives

Cooperative movements have gone through several ups and downs since the establishment of Cooperative Department in 1956. However, the need for effective village level institutions to serve weaker sections of the population, largely small farmers, has always been acutely felt. A Cooperative Revitalization Scheme was planned under the management of Agricultural Development Bank in 1971. The cooperative societies were operated as "guided cooperatives". The results of guided cooperatives have been promising. Recently, His Majesty's Government prepared a Sajha (Cooperative) development programme with the objective of helping small farmers through village level Sajha Organization. The basic objectives of this programme are two-fold: first to increase the agricultural production and income of small farmers and artisans by providing input, credit and marketing services, as well as distributing essential consumer goods at the village level; secondly, to mobilize savings by expanding banking facilities in rural areas. The Sajha Society acts as an intermediary agency for the Agricultural Development Bank to provide loans to small farmers at the village level.

There are three main sources of capital: (i) under the Land Reform Programmes, the Compulsory Saving Scheme was initiated. The Sajha Society collects compulsory savings and deposits these savings as shares of each farmer. This provides its capital base. (ii) The society encourages voluntary saving and thus mobilizes rural capital by providing banking facilities as well as interest rate incentives on their bank deposits. As a result, people are encouraged to deposit money in fixed or saving accounts rather than keep their money under the mattress. (iii) Agricultural Development Bank provides loans to societies at lower rates of interest.

The cooperative structure consists of four tiers: the ward level, the panchayat level, the district level and national level. At the ward level, there is a ward committee consisting of three members. This committee is primarily responsible for evaluation of loan applications, collection of compulsory saving and the speedy recovery of loans extended by the cooperative society to the farmers.

At the panchayat level, the Board of Directors comprises 11 members among whom nine members are elected from among the ward committee members with the Pradhan Panch (village panchayat chief) and Uppradhan Panch being the ex-officio chairman and deputy chairman of the Board. The Board of Directors is responsible for the overall control, supervision and implementation of the Sajha programme. The Agricultural Development Bank appoints the manager of the cooperative society. Thus the cooperatives are guided and managed both by the political as well as the bureaucratic bodies. The political guidance to the Sajha comes from the "Go to the Village Campaign Committee" at various levels, while the bureau-

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cratic management is channelled through the various government agencies and the Agricultural Development Bank.

The Department of Cooperatives, Ministry of Land Reform, provides inspection and auditing services as well as training to Sajha managers. The cooperatives are registered under this Department.

In order to coordinate the activities of the different agencies involved in the development programmes, coordination committees have been set up both at the district and central levels. The District Panchayat President is the ex-officio chairman of the District Sajha Development Committee and the representatives of all related district level agencies are members in the committee in order to ensure effective co-ordination. Similarly, the Central Sajha Development Committee is chaired by the Minister of Land Reform, Food and Agriculture. All the related agencies are represented to provide overall policy guidelines and assure effective coordination at the central level.

The Sajha programme is primarily aimed to meet the credit needs of farmers cultivating less than 2.70 hectares of land in the Tarai districts and those cultivating less than 1 hectare in the hill districts.

Individually, the small farmers are weak socially as well as economically. This is why it is proposed to organize these farmers into cohesive and viable groups. Then the society can deal with groups rather than individual farmers. This further enhances co-operation among small farmers for their common interest, as well as improving their collective bargaining power. A JTA is attached to the village Sajha Society to provide technical knowhow to farmers in improving their farming conditions.

In Naktajhih, a Sajha Society has recently been established. Earlier, the cooperative society at Dhalkebar, which was unknown to many farmers of Naktajhih, also covered this village.

(d) Land Reform

Land reform is so far one of the most important institutional reforms undertaken in Nepal. A series of measures dealing with land tenure and tenancy taken between 1951-63 did not have any discernible impact. However, comprehensive agrarian legislation came into effect only with the Land Act of 1964. The main features of the Act were:

- (1) Abolition of Zamindari system.
- (2) Ceiling on land ownership including homestead of 18.4 hectares in the Tarai, 4.9 hectares in the hill and 3.1 hectares in Kathmandu Valley. Similarly, the ceiling on tenancy holdings are 2.7, 1.0 and 0.5 hectares respectively.

- (3) Guarantee of tenancy rights.
- (4) Fixation of rent at 50 per cent of the principal crop.
- (5) Abolition of sub-tenancy.
- (6) Land acquisition above the ceiling limit and its distribution to tenants and landless labourers.
- (7) Compulsory saving scheme was introduced under which owner-cultivators land lords, and tenants were supposed to deposit at the rate of 84 kilograms, 56 kilograms and 28 kilograms per hectare for cereal crops in kind and 7.5, 10.0 and 5.0 per cent of the value of cash crops respectively. The deposited savings were to be refunded in cash, kind or bonds after five years with a 5 per cent annual interest rate. Now, the savings have been converted into shares in the cooperative societies.

This programme was enforced with full vigour but later its momentum petered out. Since the implementation of land reform was phased out over three years starting in 1964, it gave enough time to the concerned land owners to make adjustments to safeguard their proprietary rights from the purview of the Act. Fixation of ceiling, protection of tenants from eviction, fixation and control of rent and establishment of institutions for supporting services vis-a-vis the utilization of saving have not yet been effectively implemented. A beginning has been made in this direction by the inception of the 1964 Land Act, but a lot needs to be done for it to have a discernable impact on political socio-economic conditions of the rural people in general and small farmers/tenants/landless agricultural labourers in particular.

(c) Marketing

The supply of farm inputs has been institutionalised by the government since 1966 with the establishment of Agricultural Supply Corporation (now Agricultural Inputs Corporation). Cooperative Societies and private dealers are used as agents of the AIC.

The AIC purchases improved seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, and agricultural implements. The prices of these are determined centrally by the head office in Kathmandu and are then distributed to various group and district offices.

The AIC at the zonal and district levels in turn deliver the inputs to its agents-the Sajha Societies and accredited dealers. The District Cooperative Union takes orders from and delivers to **its** member village cooperative societies. AIC also sells directly from its district offices or depots to individual buyers and to accredited dealers who are appointed on the recommendation of the District Agricultural Development Officer.

Prices of these inputs are fixed. The cooperative union, Sajha societies and agents are all allowed commission on sales which varies with different commodities. If there is a Sajha society in a village, then it is the sole dealer of AIC. In the long run, it is expected that the Sajha society will be the only agency at the village level to sell agricultural inputs.

Similarly, on the output side, the marketing of paddy has been institutionalised by the government since 1975. The price of paddy is fixed by the Rice Export Company.

At the village level, there are only private shops and cooperatives to sell agricultural inputs, consumer goods and to buy agricultural produce. Local marketing for other consumer goods, livestock and inputs are done in the weekly market place, where buyers and sellers from different neighbouring villages and towns get together for a day of trading goods. They return to their respective homes in the evening. This is called "HAAT" in the local language. It also serves the purpose of meeting friends and relatives and provides entertainment for the people. The villagers of Naktajhijh go to the Sakhuwa bi-weekly market (HAAT). It is just an open space without any special facilities. The farmers of Naktajhijh sell their products and buy necessary goods at this HAAT. Big shopping is done in Janakpur.

Another form of marketing in the village by which door to door service is provided, is called "BHOURI". Usually women are engaged in this activity. Bhouri is a barter system of marketing where the seller exchanges food items such as vegetables, salt, oil, fruits and molasses for food grains. Women sell these goods door-to-door from bamboo baskets which they carry on their heads. This is a common form of marketing for supplying essential goods in the village everyday.

(f) Village Government

The political system of Nepal is the partyless Panchayat democracy. It is a three tier system composed of the Village Panchayat, the District Panchayat and the National Panchayat. Politically, the entire kingdom is divided into approximately 4000 villages, seventy five districts and fourteen zones. The political boundary of each Panchayat is based on geography and population distribution. Though the maximum population limit for village panchayat is not rigidly defined yet a minimum number should not be less than two thousand.

Each village is divided into nine wards and the population within the village is fairly evenly divided among these wards. Each ward elects five members (Panchas) on the basis of adult franchise, and two members are nominated by the District Committee

of the "Go to the Village National Campaign" (GVNC), thus making a total of 47 members in the village assembly. Every ward has a ward committee and one of the members is elected as its chairman.

The village assembly convenes twice a year—once after the paddy harvest (winter) and again after the wheat harvest (summer). In these assembly meetings, the Panchas discuss and examine the village budget, analyse various development projects prepared by the village panchayat and recommend new projects which may be of importance to the majority. If deemed necessary, an extraordinary meeting of the village assembly can be called at any time of the year.

In order to execute and supervise the day-to-day village activities, an eleven member executive committee called the village panchayat is formed by the Village Assembly. In the village panchayat, each ward is represented by its ward committee chairman and two members are nominated by the district committee of the GVNC. Members nominated by the GVNC are from among social workers, village intelligentsia, and the scheduled castes. However, if there is no women representative in the village panchayat the GVNC nominates at least one woman to the executive committee. Thus, women who are traditionally underprivileged and backward are deliberately brought into national politics in the task of national development.

The village panchayat has a Pradhan Pancha and a deputy Pradhan Pancha. In order to be elected, the Pradhan Pancha and deputy Pradhan Pancha must acquire two-third of the votes from the member of the village panchayat. If the contestants fail to win two-third of the votes, then the district committee of the GVNC selects the Pradhan and Deputy Pradhan Pancha. The Pradhan Pancha is the chairman of the Village Assembly and the Village Panchayat. All of the members of the Village Assembly and Village Panchayat are elected to office for four years.

Each village panchayat is a legal corporate body of the entire village. Normally the village panchayat meets once every month, but if members desire, an extraordinary meeting can be called by the Pradhan Pancha. Necessary quorum for such a meeting is one-third of the village panchayat members excluding the Pradhan Pancha.

Being the lowest rung of the Panchayat political system in the country the village panchayat is the sole body responsible to supervise and execute village affairs. It has many functions and duties. The following are the main responsibilities of the village panchayat for the general welfare of the villagers. The prime duty of the village panchayat is to initiate and launch various developmental projects. Programmes like construction and repair of roads, trails, bridges and school buildings are some of its major activities. Besides, it provides facilities for health care, clean drinking water and eradication of contagious disease like cholera, small-pox.

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In order to launch developmental projects, the village panchayat may levy taxes, solicit voluntary aid and receive governmental grants. In order to provide minimum basic education to the village children, the village panchayat is obliged to build at least one primary school building, hire teachers and open libraries.

In order to encourage agricultural production at the village level, the village panchayat assists the extension agents to disseminate the use of improved seeds, chemical fertilizers, improved agricultural tools and implements and improved breeds of livestock. The village panchayat is also responsible for law and order and promotes the growth of rural industries.

CHAPTER III

THE FARMERS PROFILE

The common characteristics of all six farmers interviewed were:

- a. All had straw thatched houses, with mud floors, and mud plastered bamboo walls.
- b. Open wells were the sources of drinking water for all.
- c. None had private toilet and open fields were used for this purpose.
- d. None of them used foot wear of any sort.
- e. None of them own harrow, planter, drill/seeder, weeder cultivator, sprayer, duster, harvester, thresher, tractors, tubewell and engine pumps.

Ram Palat Yadav

Ram Palat Yadav, a physically well built, 65 years old, small owneroperator, has three sons and two daughters who are all married. His eldest and youngest sons are 40 and 15 years of age respectively. He as well as his sons have school education. His joint family consists of 13 members, five of whom are grandchildren.

He owns 2.09 hectares of land of which 1.95 hectare is cropland. He has two pairs of draft animals worth \$ 240.00 and 3 modest houses and one animal shed, worth total of \$ 400.00. He owns two ploughs, a leveller, two spades, four sickles and four karpies (hand trowels) all of which are made by the local village blacksmith. Their total value is \$ 9.50. He also owns a bullock-operated sugarcane press and a vat, of combined value of \$ 160.00. The value of his total assets is about \$ 3291.84. Every year he has managed to add to his holding a small piece of land. In 1971-

1972 he had only 1.60 hectare. He neither leases in or leases out land. He does not have enough lowland to produce sufficient paddy for family consumption. He grows cash crops such as sugarcane and tobacco, processing the sugarcane at his farm to make mollasses, this is the main source of his cash income which amounts to approximately \$ 320.00. He buys 300 to 400 kilograms of paddy to meet family food requirements. He employs about 100 man-days in a year to carry out timely field operations.

He has so far not used any improved methods of cultivation. He has two buffaloes, worth \$ 240 total, in his farm which are now in lactation. He also sells milk, but was reluctant to disclose the exact amount that he earns through this source. Hesitantly he disclosed a sum \$ 16.00 per year, but this figure is very likely to be underestimated. He spends \$ 8.00/year for paddy straw to feed cattle. He neither borrows nor loans money to anybody except relatives. His family is vegetarian with the main source of protein being pulses and milk.

Kumar Mahato

Kumar Mahato, a 43 years old shy and withdrawn owner operator, has three sons and four daughters. Three daughters are married. His 65 years old father is living with him, while his 24 years old son is separated from the family. Presently he has 6 members in the household.

Mr. Mahato owns 1.22 hectares of land, of which 1.08 hectares is crop land, 0.068 hectares is farmstead and 0.068 hectare is orchard. This year he is also a share cropper for 0.380 hectare of paddy land, where he does not have any tenancy right and is obliged to give 50% of the total produce to the land owner. He owns only upland, where he grows early paddy, finger-millet and sugarcane as main crops. He also grows some horsegram, gram and wheat in winter. Sugarcane is the main cash crop from which he earns \$ 24.0 annually. He does the processing into molasses on his farm and sells it to nearby Sakhuwa market. He has 3 houses, one of which is used as a cattle shed-cum-rest house worth \$ 160.0 total. He owns a pair of bullocks, worth \$ 128.0, a milking buffalo and two buffalo calves worth \$ 168.00 in total. He also owns two cows worth \$ 19.00, one very old and unproductive, kept mainly because of religious dogmas, the other in lactation.

He owns a plough, a leveller, a spade, six kurpies (small trowels), five sickles and a bullock cart. The bullock cart is valued at \$ 48.00 and the rest of the tools \$ 5.76 total. He also owns a bullock-operated sugarcane press and a vat of combined value \$ 200.00. He neither borrows nor lends out money to any one. He tries to manage somehow on his own and does not work in others' fields. The total value of his assets including tools and equipments is \$ 1662.5.

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Basu Deo Mandal

Basu Deo Mandal, a 50-year old owner and share-cropper, has two married sons, a daughter and 5 grand-children, a total of 12 in the household. The elder son works for the National Construction Company of Nepal with a salary of US \$ 12 per month for 6 months only, while the younger son works as a seasonal labour at the Janakpur Agricultural Development Project on a temporary basis for \$ 12 a month.

He owns 0.51 hectares and has tenancy rights over .374 hectares of land, all of which is upland. Early paddy, finger millet and sugarcane are his main crops. He does not have his own sugarcane processing facilities, therefore has to get it processed from his neighbour who charges one third of the molasses output. He owns three residential houses and one farm house worth \$ 1200 total. The value of his total farm resources is \$ 726.40. He possesses 3 goats one of which is leased out to others. He has also taken a pair of calves on lease (adhinaphi) for \$ 40.00.

He owns a plough, a leveller, two spades, six sickles and six kurpies. Their total value is \$ 6.40.

He has borrowed 37.5 kgs of rice to meet family requirements this year which he plans to pay back after the harvest in December with 25% interest in kind. He buys 560 to 600 kg of paddy every year to meet annual food requirement.

Jailal Sahu

Jailal Sahu, a 66 years old share cropper, has a married son and 4 grandsons. His son as well as his grandson work for the National Construction Company of Nepal (NCCN). His son is paid 0.48 dollars a day while the grandson is given 0.56 dollars because he is engaged in iron works.

He owns only 0.136 hectare of land of which 0.068 is crop land while the rest is farmstead land. He has tenancy rights for 5 years on 0.26 hectares of land for which he pays a fixed rent of \$ 12.44.

He grows early paddy and finger millet, chilli and wheat. He has a few plants of guava and banana in his kitchen garden.

He possesses one cow and a calf, combined worth \$ 160.00. He owns two residential houses and a farm house, worth \$ 120.0 total. As far as farm tools and equipment are concerned, he has six sickles, four kurpies and two spades. Their value is \$ 2.00. The value of his total farm resources is \$ 522.00.

Mathuni Mandal

Mathuni Mandal is a 50 years old landless labourer with a 40 years old brother and a six years old son in the family. His wife died last year, and he had to sell all his land to pay off his debts and meet the funeral expenses. He and his brother work as farm labourers in Naktajhijh, Raghopur and Sukhjher villages. He has only 0.0068 hectare of farmstead land, half of which is used for kitchen garden. His only house is used for kitchen, bedroom and also to provide shelter to his goat. In the name of farm tools, he only possess two sickles and two tiny hand hoes (khurpi) worth \$ 0.75. Employment for him as a casual labour is not hard to get. If a meal is provided by the employer, then he is paid 2 kg. of paddy while without the meal he is paid 3 kg. of paddy a day. However, in both the cases he is provided with millet bread for breakfast.

Buland Das Tutama

Buland Das Tutama, a 40 years old landless labourer, has a wife and two daughters. He was married twice before, but in both the cases, his wives eloped. He practices shamanism (dhami) but doesn't earn anything out of this virtue except doing certain social services.

He has 0.012 hectares of farmstead of which only 0.0025 hectare is utilized for kitchen garden where chilli and few banana shuckers are planted. He has one large house which is portioned to provide small accommodation for a calf, that he has taken on lease (adhanaphi) at \$ 16.00. The value of his house is only \$ 32.00. He owns two sickles, one axe, two kurpies worth \$ 1.32 total. The total value of his farm resources is \$ about \$ 90.00. He works on different farms as Hariharpur, Sukhjher, Raghopur, Durgatole and Naktajhijh for different farmers. In a year, he receives a mere 900 kg. of paddy by working on different farms.

CHAPTER IV

THE FARMERS' REACTIONS TO THE INSTITUTIONS

1. Agricultural Extension: None of these six farmers had been approached by any extension agent or extension method. Their common reaction was that they were unaware of extension services. Some of them have heard of JTA but didn't care to know who the JTA is and what can be learnt from him. When their crops are damaged by insects and diseases, they blame the Gods for being unkind to them. When their animals are sick, they depend on village witch-craft for the treatment.

The JTA usually contacts Pradhan Panch and rich farmers and conducts result demonstrations on their fields only. Therefore, the small farmers feel only big people can afford to use what JTA or Extension Service has to offer. However, if the extension methods would have been directed towards small farmers, the results may have motivated them to adopt new practices. This is because they would have been inspired by the fact that if one of the person of their own socio-economic group could do it, then, they too are capable of doing it. The important reasons for not adopting improved practices, from the point of view of agricultural extension service, seems to be the lack of adequate information, motivation and conviction on the part of small farmers.

The conventional extension activities start with innovators. Innovators are characterized by large acreage of land, high social status, higher education, risk taker and having access to information from many sources. The concept behind this approach is that once the innovators have adopted improved agricultural practices other farmers will be convinced by the extension principle "seeing is believing" and they will also adopt these improved agricultural practices. Thus improved practices will disseminate amongst the whole rural population and everybody will benefit from the use of improved practices. But in reality the extension efforts have mostly stuck-up with innovators and big farmers and very little of it has percolated down to small farmers.

Due to deep and longstanding social cleavages based on caste and income and/or wealth differences, there are several social or economic strata in the village. The diffusion through any "demonstration effect" is limited horizontally to other members of the same social or economic strata. Thus it is imperative to examine the conventional extension approach itself.

One of the respondents said that irrigation is necessary to use fertilizer but that he didn't have irrigation facility and therefore was unwilling to take the risk of using fertilizer without assured irrigation.

One of them expressed his eagerness to visit government farm where improved methods of cultivation are practised, if the government bears the cost for his trip.

Due to low socio-economic status of small farmers, tenants and landless labourers in the village, these people are always at the far end of the queue for any service. Thus, they didn't have access to these services in a real sense even though it exists in the village. In the target oriented development strategy the only convenient way to fulfill the target is to approach big landholders, so extension agents have no time for small farmers.

The majority of small farmers are illiterate, tradition-bound and often ignored in the decision-making process in the village, which has resulted in their being a passive and pathetic group. These people are even reluctant to enter into a government office and talk to the officials freely. Therefore, expecting this group to come forward boldly to avail themselves of the extension service is simply not possible. A deliberate effort should be made to reach this underprivileged section of society. Thus, a total change in approach in administration of extension services is needed. Besides, some form of organisation or association of these small farmers is needed to make them more conscious of their potential.

Credit

None of these farmers had borrowed credit from institutions. Some of them said that they can borrow from relatives and neighbours when in need of money, and did not feel the necessity of credit from institutional sources. Tenants and landless labour feel that they are not eligible for credit because they don't have their own land for collaterals as required by the Bank. They are told that the rate of interest is low at the bank but they are also to abide by the bank rules to pay back in installments. They are not sure whether they will have enough money to pay back every installment in time. They regard it too much of trouble to get government money, while it is easy to get a loan both in kind and cash from their employer. Of course, these employers charge high rates of interest but then, the small farmer can get a loan even at mid-night and later pay back by working on their employer's land. They believe agriculture bank gives credit only for fertilizer and seeds. However, they can use their own seeds and use manures from their own livestock. They need cash to buy clothes, medicine, food items and other necessary goods for which the banks do not provide credit. So they didn't bother to utilize them.

When a question was asked "if you have a choice which would you consider as the best and the worst sources of credit". Mr. Mahato didn't know the alternatives sources-except the traditional sources i.e. village moneylender and therefore couldn't respond to this question.

Mr. Tutama, a landless labour said that he had leased a calf from his employer at \$ 16.00. After two years of feeding and proper management he can sell it for \$ 64.00. From this he must deduct \$ 16 to pay the real owner. The remaining \$ 48, is divided equally between himself and the owner and he thus earns \$ 24. If the bank would have provided credit to buy in the first place at \$ 16 then, in two years at the existing rate of interest 15% he would have to pay only \$ 21.00 and could have earned \$ 43.00 instead of only \$ 40. He thinks banks can help him a great deal if there is a provision for credit without collaterals. He said,

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in order to grant a loan of \$ 16.00 the bank will need same collateral which he didn't have. The landlord lends to him in mutual trust, without any collateral. his landlord trusts him because he has worked on his land for several years.

Similarly, the farmers interviewed expressed the view that the Bank can help them in providing credit to buy cows or other animals. But they need both consumption and production loans. However, the Bank provides only production loans and they have to rely on moneylenders or landlords for consumption loans. Thus, institutional sources of credit would probably meet only a small part of their total credit requirement and hence they would still have to depend on moneylenders. Moneylenders may be reluctant to loan if the farmer is using the bank for source of credit, and thus coerce farmers who need consumption loans into depending entirely upon non-institutional credit sources. As a result, farmers cannot rely on institutional sources of credit unless their total credit need is met by this source.

Cooperatives

A Sajha (cooperative) Society has been started this year in Naktajhijh Panchayat. Farmers in general lack information about the society and its functions. Among the six farmers interviewed, only Mr. Ram Palat Yadav expressed his desire to become a member of the society. It was not possible to receive their reaction about the cooperative society in this village because of their total ignorance of the cooperative society.

As per discussion on Sajha in Chapter II the Board of Directors of Sajha at the village level consists of the elected member of the village panchayat. None of the elected ward members were small holders except one in the case of the study village. Hence, there is no adequate representation of small farmers on the Board of Directors, which implies that it does not present a true representation of interests. It is commonly believed that any programme designed to benefit small farmers must get some decision making into their hands, if benefits are to be achieved for them.

However, since one of the criteria for performance evaluation of Panchas is the extent to which cooperative societies have been successful, it is expected that the panchas, even though they belong to richer groups of farmers would encourage small farmers to enroll in Sajha Society and benefit from its services.

Village Government

Under the panchayat system, the rural people are gradually participating in the task of national development. The "Go to the Village National Campaign" body is actively involved to educate and mobilize people about the constructive elements inherent in

the panchayat system. However, the lack of communication network and low level of education have resulted in a slow participation of people in the panchayat system. The participation of small farmers, tenants and landless agricultural labour in the executive body of the local government is relatively negligible presumably due to their high rate of illiteracy and their low economic and social status.

Just women's representation in the village government has been made deliberately to encourage women's participation in the decision making body, similarly representation of small farmers/tenants/landless labourers on village government seems to be desirable to encourage their participation and present their interest to the village level governments.

Conclusion

In Nepal, about 92% of the agricultural households are under one hectare size-group and 96% of the population live in rural areas. In a predominantly subsistence farming system, the majority of cultivators have at their disposal less than the minimum area needed for subsistence, 4 to 5 family members for labour, 2 to 3 animals and farm tools worth in between \$ 5 to \$ 20. The tenants and landless agricultural labourers depend for their livelihood on tenancy and the work opportunity from big farmers. As such they live in poverty and despair. Hence the need for appropriate rural institutions to help them increase their income and thus make a decent living is indeed urgent. The traditional institutions such as landlord, moneylenders, middlemen and others have served this group but at a very high cost. Consequently, the search for and establishment of relevant rural institutions is most pertinent.

In the past, the function of formal institutions at the village level was only to maintain law and order. However, these institutions largely exploited the naive, timid and innocent villagers. When government personnel walked into a village, villagers would hide or run away from the village. They felt that government agencies were always out to get something from them. Now new institutions are beginning to establish their base at the village level to serve villagers. However, the villagers look at them as an extension of the law and order maintaining institutions in a disguised form, even though their intentions are different and genuine. These institutions have not yet gained the confidence and faith of villagers. First of all, the rural populace have to be convinced that these agencies are there sincerely to help them. They are extremely cautious and careful to find out the purpose of these agencies. As long as they are ignorant of the objectives and functions of these institutions, it is very unlikely that the rural poor at the lowest rung of the socio-economic hierarchy will come forward to benefit from them. Therefore, an intensive educational programme needs to be launched to acquaint them with the institutions and win their hearts.

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None of the farmers interviewed have had any extensive contact with formal institutions apart from minimal amount of schooling. Most of their needs such as credit are met through informal social networks, such as family relationship or contacts with employers, landlords, moneylenders and traders in the village community. Small farmers/tenants and landless labourers know how to deal with these informal institutions, but are ignorant of the formalities and procedures for dealing with formal institutions. The bureaucratic culture of formal institution is totally alien to this target group. Only a few educated and economically well-off people in a village are acquainted with this bureaucratic culture. These people act as brokers or gatekeepers for contacts between formal institutions and the rural poor, who prefer to use them as intermediaries. These brokers control the access of small farmers to formal institutions and take a certain commission for their services. Differences in language and status between small farmers and the personnel of formal institutions further exacerbate this situation. Villagers usually speak a different language from the employed of these institutions and are of lower social status. This hinders effective communication and thus farmers don't bother to go to these institutions.

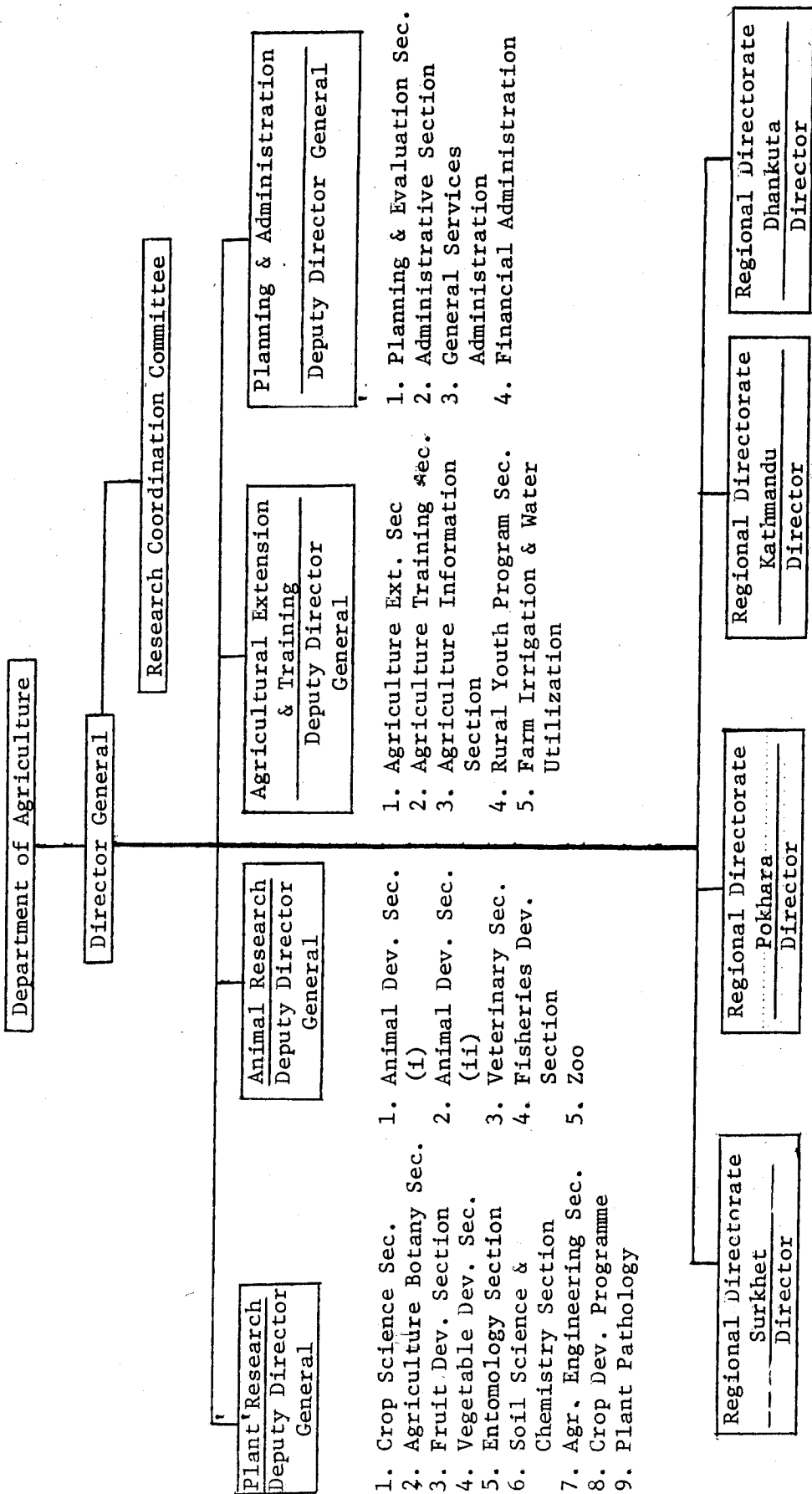
Programme discontinuity also causes lack of credibility about the institutions to these farmers. This has been trend in case of supply of agricultural inputs and extension services.

Though a diversity of institutions are operating in Nepal to help raise the income level of the rural poor, yet they have not effectively and adequately fulfilled their objectives. Many of these institutions have been functionally independent in working to achieve their separate targets, rather than functioning in a coordinated fashion to tackle the problems of their target group. A coordination of efforts at the village level is a crucial need, and this should include on intensive educational programme to break down the barriers of ignorance and suspicion on the part of the villagers and to inform them of the services which these institutions can provide.

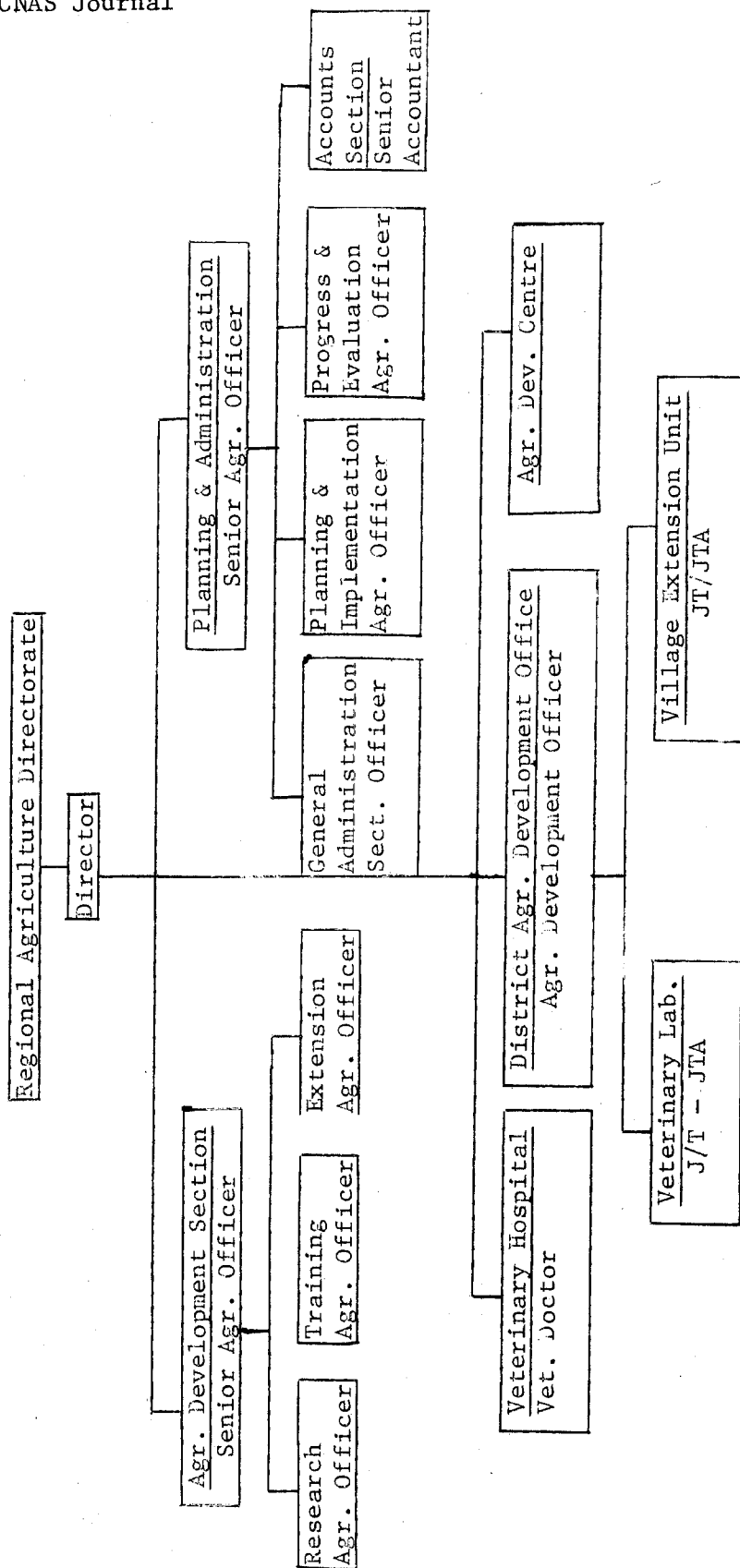
To date the major impetus for the creation of institutions to serve the rural poor has come from the political and administrative centre of the society. This means that policies and targets are formulated and implemented in a top-down process, and while a significant effort is being made to reach the rural poor, there is as yet no working procedure for making institutions accountable to the lower strata of the rural population. Effective participation must be encouraged by bringing these strata into the decision-making process of rural institutions intended to serve them. Only recently with the activation of the Sajha (cooperative) Societies and the "Go to Village National Campaign" has an effort been initiated to coordinate the services of institutions designed to reach the rural poor, and to make these institutions more responsive to

the needs of their target group. These new institutions now face the challenge of integrating institutionalized services to members of the rural populace such as the farmers interviewed for this case study, who until now have been by-passed in the development process.

APPENDIX 1
ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE



APPENDIX 2
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

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APPENDIX 3A. Central Coordination Committee

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|----|--|------------------|
| 1. | Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Irrigation, | Chairman |
| | Secretary | |
| 2. | Department of Agriculture, Director General | Member |
| 3. | Department of Irrigation and Hydro-Meteorology Director General | ,, |
| 4. | Department of Food and Agriculture Marketing Services, Director General | ,, |
| 5. | Agriculture Development Bank, General Manager | ,, |
| 6. | Agriculture Inputs Corporation, General Manager | ,, |
| 7. | Ministry of Food, Agriculture & Irrigation, Planning & Coordination Division - Joint-Secretary | Member-Secretary |

B. Regional Coordination Committee

- | | | |
|----|--|------------------|
| 1. | Regional Agricultural Directorate, Director | Chairman |
| 2. | Regional Office of ADB/N, Chief | Member |
| 3. | Regional Directorate of Irrigation, Director | ,, |
| 4. | Regional Office of AIC, Chief | ,, |
| 5. | Regional Directorate of Agriculture, Senior Agricultural Officer | Member-Secretary |

C. District Agriculture Coordination Committee

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|----|---|------------------|
| 1. | District Panchayat member | Chairman |
| 2. | Panchayat Development Officer | Member |
| 3. | District Peasant's Organization, Chairman | ,, |
| 4. | Agriculture Development Officer | Member-Secretary |

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|----|--|--------|
| 5. | Agriculture Development Bank,
District Chief | Member |
| 6. | Agriculture Inputs Corporation,
District Chief | ,, |
| 7. | Land Administration Officer | ,, |
| 8. | Cooperative Officer | ,, |
| 9. | Irrigation and Hydro-Meteorology
Representative | ,, |

D. District Agriculture Execution Committee

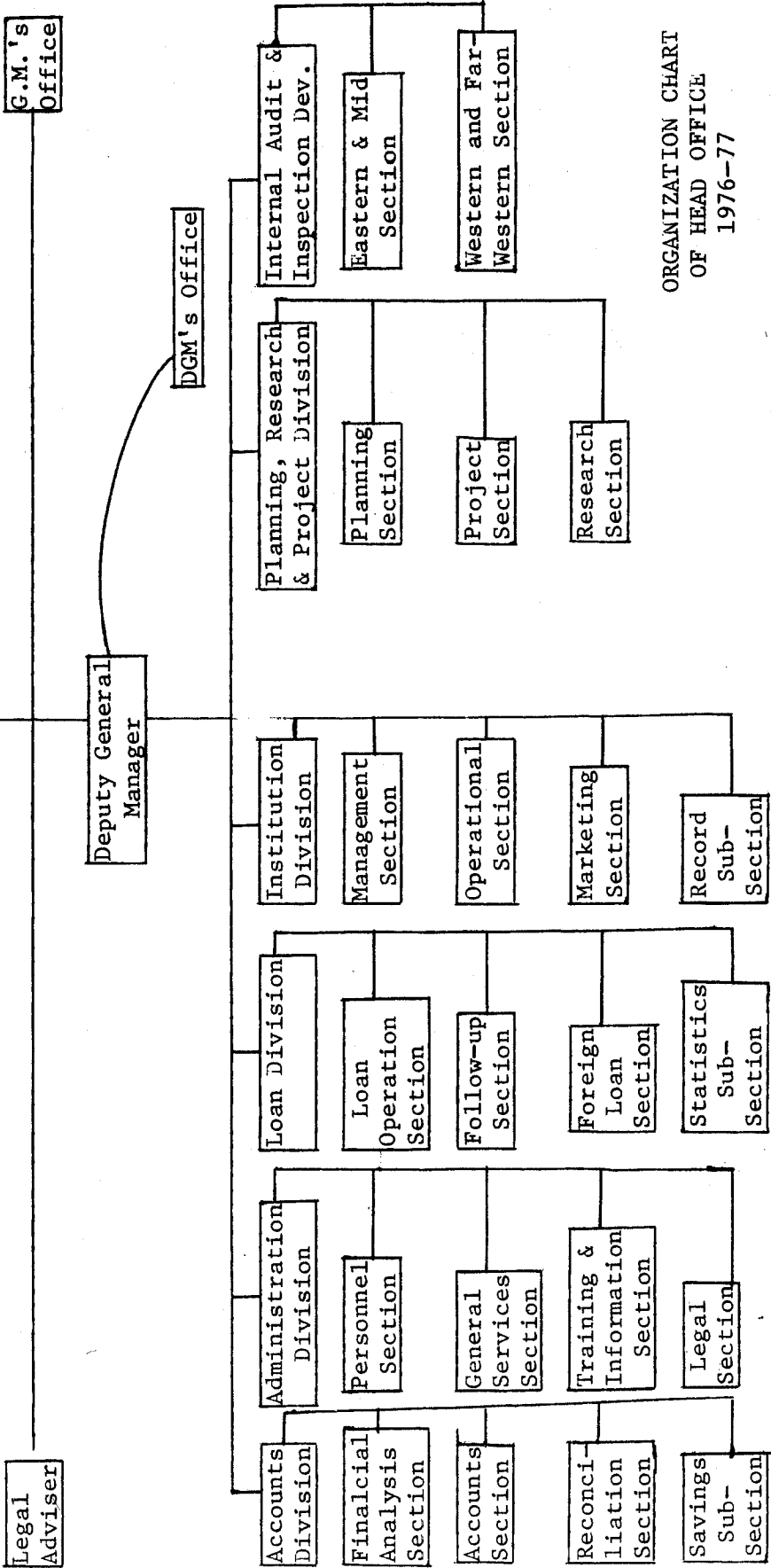
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|----|---------------------------------------|----------|
| 1. | Agriculture Development Officer | Chairman |
| 2. | Agriculture Development Bank, Chief | Member |
| 3. | Agriculture Inputs Corporation, Chief | ,, |
| 4. | Cooperative Officer | ,, |
| 5. | Irrigation Engineer | ,, |

E. Village Agriculture Development Coordination Committee

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|----|---|-----------|
| 1. | Pradhan Pancha | Chairman |
| 2. | JTA | Secretary |
| 3. | Progressive Farmers (2) | Members |
| 4. | Cooperative Society Manager, or
Agriculture Inputs Corporation
Dealer or Bank Representative (ii) | Members. |

APPENDIX 4

GENERAL MANAGER



ORGANIZATION CHART
OF HEAD OFFICE
1976-77

a brief profile of the chirimar people of belaspur village, banke

C.J. Wake and Kumar Mainali

This article is written in the style of "notes preliminaires" pioneered by French Social Scientists in Nepal. It is a by-product of a larger research undertaking under the auspices of and with a grant from the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University.

Information collected on this group of untouchables, the Chirimar, whom we encountered incidentally in the course of our field work, does not readily lend itself to inclusion in the report of that large project. The data are meagre, having been acquired from two mornings' conversation with Birja Bahailiya Thakur, Ram Autar Bahailiya Thakur and the small crowd of villagers that usually gathers at such meetings, rather than from lengthy participation and observation. Nonetheless, it seems worth making record of what we learnt for two reasons. First, nothing has been written about the Chirimar before, and the information may be of intrinsic interest. Secondly, the Chirimar are peculiarly isolated from the mainstream of development in Nepal despite living almost in Nepalganj. Their lives are autonomous and intragroup-directed. In consequence they could be said to be neglected, although it is probably more true to say that they themselves are still reluctant to break through an invisible barrier of ignorance and shyness to take advantage of new institutions which might bring them advantages they do perceive and are beginning to covet. Any record of their situation in 1976 may be useful as a yardstick for a later study that investigates what constitutes the barrier and accesses their progress towards participating in and benefitting from the national goals of development.

Four generations ago, in 1857, the four districts of Banke, Bardia, Kailali and Kanchanpur (the Nayamuluk) were returned to Nepal by the British in recognition of the military aid provided by Jung Bahadur Rana to quell the Indian Rebellion. Amongst the people who were persuaded to settle in and around the new town of Nepalganj as tenants on the tax-free birta land given to members of the Rana family was a hitherto nomadic group of Awadhi speaking people whose occupation consisted principally in hunting birds. In consequence they are popularly known as Chirimar, though their jat name is Bahailiya Thakur. There are now sixty to seventy households of Chirimar living in Belaspur village which makes up wards one and two of Indapur gaon panchayat on the western outskirts of Nepalganj. There are several Chirimar families a day's walk North East in Shumsherganj panchayat and many south of the border, some of whom reputedly follow the old migratory pattern, settling in one place for a few days to hunt before moving on.

Only four Chirimar households in Belaspur have land of their own. The remainder are either tenants on land owned by town-dwellers and the few Kurmi families of the village, or work as labourers and porters. The tenants divide their produce, less that which goes to pay off debts, on a fifty-fifty basis with the land-owners, an arrangement little different, so they claim, from that which they had before the Land Reform Act. One or two work as peons in government offices but interaction with any official is limited to exceptional court cases and the treasury office. Any discussion of land tenure and relations with landlords is laced with not unusual bitter suspicion that they may have been tricked, some of which arises from failure to understand new tenant rights and land registration procedures. Their mud plastered wooden frame houses, some of which have tiled roofs, cluster about the more substantial walled houses belonging to Kurmis, some of whom have built tube wells. The Chirimar have their own, original, well.

Almost forty per cent of the Chirimar of Belaspur, however, still hunt birds. (see Fig. 1). The main season is winter and the main prey parrots, although they will catch whatever they can. They sell what they can in the bazar and eat the rest. In Marg, Fagun and Chaitra after the harvest when seeds are scattered in the fields, partridges (titra), quail (battai) and doves are caught, and in Chaitra and Jeth, parrots. A quail or partridge can be sold for five rupees and are sought for their fighting prowess, an old form of entertainment during which there may be some gambling as much as for eating. Parrots are sold in cages that they buy in Lucknow.

They have three ways of catching birds. When the harvest is in and there is little work, informal groups of up to six men, women and children will gather to drive birds under nets hung from pigeon pea bushes (arahar) on the edges of fields. This is a technique similar to that employed by Tharus. Groups are made up of anyone who happens to be available and willing. The nets are made by men and women with cotton string bought in the bazar.

The other two techniques are used by the solitary hunter. The first consists of a diamond shaped net covering about four square feet which is laid over some grain. (see Fig. 2). To one end is attached twenty feet of rope which is held by the hunter concealed behind any suitable cover. When a bird steps onto the net, he jerks the rope and enfolds the bird in the net. This method is popular with patient old men. The third technique requires a long chain of sticks and glue. Five-foot lengths of a kind of reed (narkat: *saccharum spontaneum*) are fitted into one another beneath a tree in which birds are roosting until the pole is tall enough to reach them. (see Fig. 3). The top piece is made from a light wood and terminates in a fork in which a thick sticky glue (lasa) is pasted. The glue is prepared by boiling together

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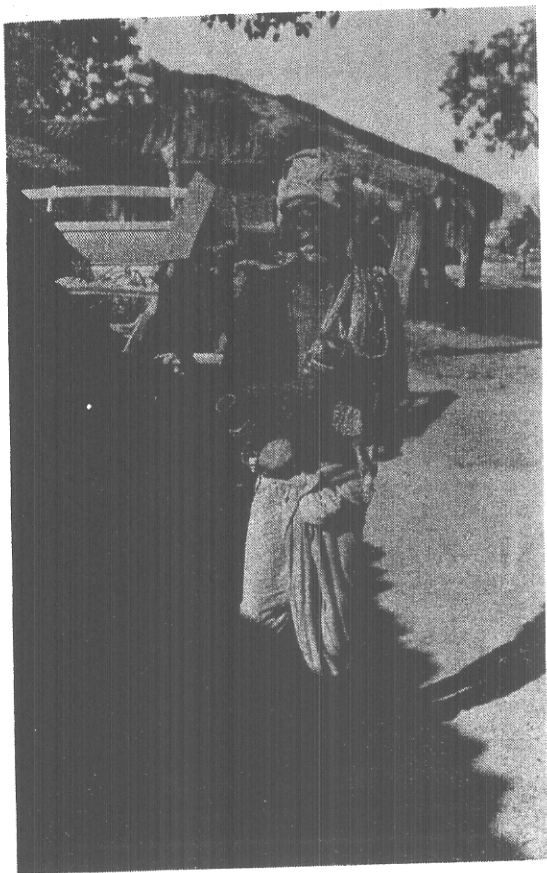


Fig. 1

A Bahailiya Thakur with a quail
he has caught.

Fig. 2



A Bahailiya Thakur demonstrating
a net technique used by Chirimar
to catch feeding birds.

Fig. 3



A Bahailiya Thakur demonstrating pole and glue technique used by Chirimar to catch Roosting birds.



Fig. 4 A Bahailiya Thakur and Birja Bahailiya Thakur (ward sadasya) preparing glue (lasa).

mustard oil and the sap from a peepal tree and from a kind of fig tree (khannyu or gular: *ficus cannia*) (see Fig. 4). Feathers immediately adhere to it on contact.

Apart from occasional bird drives, no other work is done co-operatively amongst the Chirimar. They are, however, bound together by a social organization, a traditional structure of authority and above all by ceremonials which have kept them outside the mainstream of national developments. New aspirations are emerging but participation in activities that could realize them are held back by this social autonomy which still provides a sense of identity and security.

Within the village there are five exogamous patrilineal clans: Shri bahathan, godsaha, gaudaila, haduwa and kanwajiya. Marriage is permissible between any two of these. Marriage usually takes place when the partners are nine or ten years old. At the wedding ceremony, attended by anybody in the village, the bride is brought to the groom's house. There the girl's parents present their daughter with dishes, a lotah, cooking pots for rice and lentils, and spoons. These are kept in the groom's father's house along with money given by the girl's relatives. After a short ritual, during which the bride is worshipped, the boy's parents give her ornaments and cloth. Cohabitation (patrilocal) begins five or six years later when the father of the groom, followed by his son with the rest of his relatives, goes to the girl's house to fetch her.

No ceremony is complete without the drinking of spirits (rakshi), and only ritual specialists are concerned with its provision and distribution. No outside priest is brought in for any ritual. The man who makes arrangements for the drink is called the nayab while the man who actually distributes it is called the kotwal. Community money matters are handled by the dewan. The community leader, who is not the ward sadasya, is called the chaudhari. All four of these men are the direct patrilineal descendants of men claimed to have originally held the positions. Every year the village gathers to appoint them. New men to these offices can be elected but this has not happened in Belaspur.

The chaudhari, nayab and dewan meet to discuss any problems or quarrels that arise in the village. Courts and police are avoided if possible but if their decisions are ignored or disobeyed they may resort to them. Usually they exact fines of two or three rupees and rakshi is drunk by all present.

All the gods of the Hindu pantheon, but principally Krishna and secondly Shankar, are worshipped. The dead are buried, not cremated. After nine or eleven days, everybody gathers for the funeral rites (kriya), after which the relatives provide food and rakshi. Close relatives shave their heads and as soon as possible make a pilgrimage to either Ayodhya, Benares, Gaya, or Nimshaha

in India. On their return they will again feed as many as they can.

No Chirimar in Belaspur can yet be said to be anything but poor and yet none seems to hark back to a better time before they were settled. Unlike other Terai dwellers they do not make fuel from cowdung. With increasing settlement and receding forest, fuel shortage is one of their most pressing problems. Baskets are made for their own use but none has yet thought to sell them. When asked about development (bikas), they express no interest and claim to know nothing about it. They say they do not have sufficient food or clothes to send their children to school but six have now been enrolled in a primary school. They eat most meats except buffalo, and many would like the chance to raise improved strains of chickens and pigs. Any Chirimar can train to be a bhuihar who treats the sick, but increasingly they are making use of the Nepalganj hospital, less than half-an-hour's walk away.

Unavoidably, then, their proximity to Nepalganj has changed and broadened their particular ideas of what is possible and desirable, but they do not yet perceive a relationship between them and the national process of development. Education is probably the most essential step towards bridging this contradiction. The next steps to getting better living standards almost certainly imply giving up a little of their social autonomy which keeps them alienated from the institutions which can or should be serving them. A little stimulus from an interested JTA for example could lead to initiatives in chicken or pig farming with a ready market in expanding Nepalganj. If it is poverty that inhibits any effort to seek opportunities in a wider world than Belaspur and thereby improve their lives, it would only require a small economic success to begin to break the cycle.



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preliminary research report on anthropological explorations of the eastern himalayas

Barbara N. Aziz¹

ARUN VALLEY TRADE²

In my recent tour of East Nepal hills, starting from Solu and proceeding eastwards to Dharan by way of Okhaldhunga, Bhojpur, Chainpur and Hile I noted the regular appearance of certain manufactured goods. In the teashops lining the route as well as in town bazaars, one finds stocks of batteries, biscuits, cigarettes, cloth, etc. Children on their way to and from school proudly tote a bag of copy books. Many are wearing rubber or canvas shoes. After dark in their homes these same children lean over those books, earnestly reading their lessons with the aid of a kerosene fueled brass lamp or a bit of candle. In the kitchens of farms where we stopped to rest, villagers serve us in glass tumblers and aluminium vessels as well the more polished traditional brassware. And occasionally, after an evening meal, conversation stops while the national news is tuned through the battered radio that only father or eldest son are permitted to touch.

A less apparent part of the economic processes the appearance and use of these goods imply is the entry into the cash economy. More than through their purchases villagers participate in the cash economy by sending their men and women down to the production centres of Nepal as wage labourers. This is not noticeable in the villages until one makes inquiries as to the whereabouts of other household members. Invariably there is at least one member of each household working for wages in a city or a government centre.

Emigration into the urban or administrative labour markets and demand for manufactured goods are two features of any growing economy. In Nepal these are easily identified although the mere geography of the country and the newness of the centralized communication system make their quantification difficult.

Attempts at quantifying the activity at either end of the economic process of production and consumption may eventually be overcome but meanwhile it is necessary to look into other areas of the economy where research can proceed. There is an extremely important stage linking the urban economy with that of the hills. While seen by everyone as an intricate part of Nepalese culture, it has thus far not been approached quantitatively and in economic terms. It is transport.

We all know that the transport of goods between any two points in an exchange system is itself an economic process. In Nepal, this is dramatically and perhaps too romantically illustrated in the bhria, or porter, bent under the distinctive carrying basket. We see him in the streets of Kathmandu and on the Annapurna and Everest trails. But he is moving in greater force, and perhaps with more economic meaning through the hill paths of Nepal, between the production and distribution centres of the Terai up into the rural farms and markets. Recognising the need for better quantification of this well developed transport system, a traveller on a survey tour that would take me over the very same trails as my already familiar road companions, I took this opportunity to examine the trade more closely.

I had spent many years travelling the hills and river valleys of Nepal. But it was only upon arriving in the Arun River Valley that the full impact of this transport economy made itself felt. Since I was equally impressed by the visual dimension of the 'transport system', I include that along with the quantitative report.

As we moved steadily closer to Bhojpur, first through Okhal-dhunga and then Diktel, we encountered increasingly more porters, almost all of whom seemed to be moving in the opposite direction to us, that is northwesterly - deeper into the hills.

It was with our arrival in Bhojpur that we sensed the first waves of economic activity, pulsating outwards from the Arun Valley we were fast approaching. Then, reaching the Arun waters, we crossed directly east and joined the north-south trade route. In that shaky ferry ride across the river, we entered the mainstream of the hill trade in East Nepal.

Our first stop was in Chainpur, still an active commercial and social centre which like Bhojpur is comprised of a wealthy core of Brahman traders and Newari craftsmen. Both towns are traditional brass-making centres of the Eastern Hills; their trade still flourishes, meeting the constant if not expanding market demands. Brass work from these towns are sent to villages through the Terai as well as supply the hill population and the tourists. Along all paths converging into Bhojpur and Chainpur both, we noted porters, baskets piled with worn and balckened brass pots. In front of the craftsmen's shops villagers exchange their now used vessels, paying a little extra cash for newly made pots. When we left those towns, many porters also moving out carried newly made pots, again heaped high over their baskets. Some headed for distant markets in Ilam while others set out for nearby villages.

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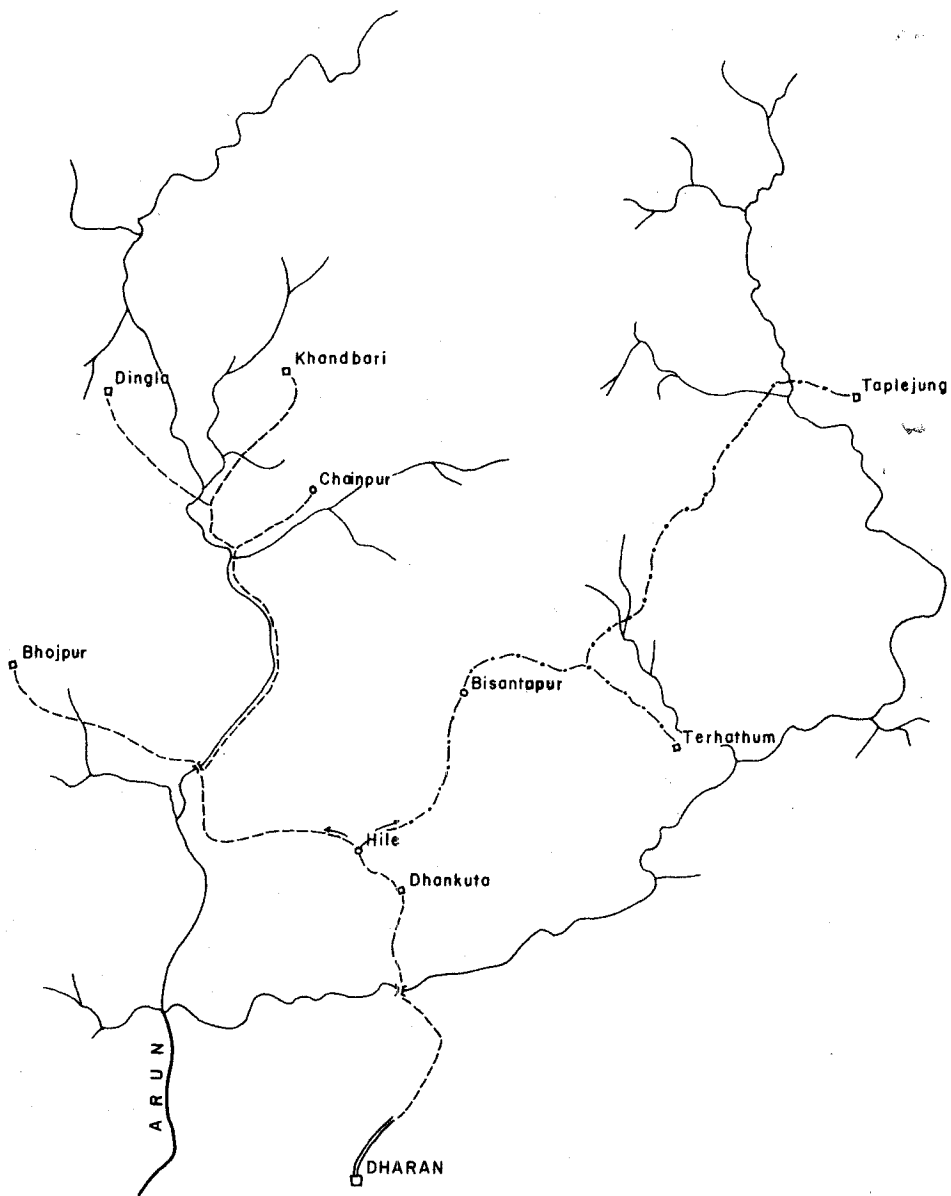
Some say of Chainpur that the new district office at Khandbari will drain some of the energy and wealth from the old town. Certainly the brass makers and merchants are as busy as ever, and a great deal of trade passes through. Although some residents are unhappy about the transfer from their neighbourhood of specific government offices, there is anything but a decline in commerce. The weekly hat is as colourful and crowded as ever, the Limbu festivals are still centred around and through the Chainpur cobbled streets, and tourists have now discovered the magnificent views Chainpur offers of Mt. Makalu.

We left Chainpur for Hile on a sunny afternoon, stopping at a Sherpa village above Mamling. On the road again, we once more encountered porters with laden baskets, passing us with increasing frequency. At Bisantapur where we pick up the traffic coming over the Milkadanda from both Taplejung and Terhathum, I began to take close account of what it was the porters were carrying. Their numbers were too great to ignore or pass off as domestic local trade. The grouping of porters was clearly not family or village organised, and the accumulation of their 90 pound loads, passing us, one after another, began to take on the magnitude of tons of goods.

As the scale of the porter traffic changed, so did our comprehension of what this trade means to the economic development of the Arun river valley - a veritable long distance trade system, which must have a firm administrative base at either or both ends of the economies it links. We observed the porters as a transport system with increasing interest all the way from Chainpur to Hile.² In that stretch, by the very character of the terrain and trail our observations of this process took on a new visual dimension. Because much of the twenty miles between Chainpur and Hile is flat, the travelled path is allowed to widen even breaking out into a 'double lane' of footworn sand in some parts. This portion of the north-south trade route is perhaps unique in East Nepal in its openness and flatness. One is allowed a view of up to half a mile; on the turns one is afforded a view far ahead as well as behind. Thus, the earlier encounter with individual porters, one after another in succession is changed into a panorama of people, in lines and clusters, passing one another in either direction and totalling up to fifty or sixty people at a glance. If one had any doubts about the magnitude of traffic, here is the convincing evidence.

Of the two main features of this transport economy, the first is the nature of manufactured goods going from the Terai into the hills. These goods are still confined to less than a dozen items, the main ones being the more traditional items of exchange: cloth salt and oil. The others such as copy books, batteries and shoes are perhaps more recent introductions and should provide some indication of the priority system of villagers applying their limited cash to the new possibilities open to them.

MAP



Scale 1:300,000

The differences of produce entering the hills becomes less significant when attention is drawn to the striking disparity between goods entering the hills and that leaving. While it is true that as might be expected, the goods going down are exclusively agricultural produce. Still there is a major imbalance in the exchange between hills and plains for less than one basket in 25 leaving the hills contains produce.³ That is to say that more than 95 percent of the porters going south are empty. The return of porters empty to pick up new loads once they reach Dharan also implies a considerable waste in available labour. The few with loads carry limited agricultural produce: guavas, limes and lemons, potatoes and oranges varying according to the season.

As significant as the goods they move are the carriers. The second feature of this transport economy then, is the labour trade, for the employment and mobilisation of porters is not a haphazard or casual occurrence. We do not yet know how many men and women⁴ enter this porter labour market, either on a seasonal basis or throughout the year. And we have not begun to think about their sociological organisation. However, data from this preliminary study points to the scale and ramifications of their system. For example, we find that of the Dhankuta bank's clients, the major one is a firm of porter contractors. Concerned only with Arun Valley trade porters, this firm of four businessmen (possibly only one of several such firms) does an annual business of Rs. 140,000. This is in porter contracting alone. Other quantification of the vastness of this trade comes from our 6 hours count of porters moving up through Hile. There in a one hour count before breakfast and in a five hour count through the main part of the day we noted 541 fully loaded porters on their way into the hills.

Details of the loads and destinations of the 452 porters recorded in the five hour period are tabulated in the following pages. The count was made on a single day⁵ continuously between 10 am and 3 pm. It does not include the downward traffic.

RECORD OF PORTERS PASSING THROUGH HILE, NORTHWARD

September 28, 1975 10 am.-3 pm.

ARUN VALLEY (Western tributary)	No. porters in group	Goods carried
Dharan to Chainpur	2	salt
	3	salt
	14	pots, spices, copybooks, cloth
	8	salt, oil ⁶
	8	cloth
	20	salt, biscuits
	17	salt, shoes, pencils, old brasspots
	26	cloth, shoes, tea
	18	cloth, soap, tea
	6	oil, kerosene, soap, copy- books, biscuits.
Subtotal	122	
Dharan to Bhojpur	5	salt
	8	salt, cloth, oil
	1	old brasspots
	9	bangles, copybooks, pencils, pens, cotton thread
	11	salt, cloth, shoes
Subtotal	34	
Dharan to Khandbari	10	bangles, biscuits, batteries, copybooks, pencils, cotton thread
	20	shoes, cloth, copybooks, readymade shirts, spices
	20	salt, biscuits, cigarettes
	17	salt, spices
Subtotal	67	
Dharan to Dingla	10	cigarettes, biscuits, copybooks, pencils
Subtotal	10	

RECORD OF PORTERS PASSING THROUGH HILE

September 28, 1975 10 am.-3 pm.

ARUN VALLEY

(eastern tributary)

No. porters
in group

Goods carried

Dharan to Terhathum

3

kerosene

2

cigarettes, copybooks,
spices

5

biscuits, batteries, pots

10

oil, shoes, cigarettes

13

shoes, bangles, pencils

15

salt, kerosene, oil

11

salt

24

salt, cloth, shoes

Subtotal 83

Dharan to Taplejung

4

salt

14

salt, biscuits, kerosene
candies

2

cotton thread

8

salt

9

salt

2

chaydar

1

salt

15

oil, kerosene, spices,
shoes, cloth

21

salt, cloth, shoes

18

salt, cloth, shoes, oil

21

salt, biscuits, kerosene

21

tea, soap, shoes, cloth

10

kerosene, cloth, biscuits.

Subtotal 146

TOTAL 452

The absence of sugar from this list of commodities is conspicuous. We are told there was a shortage of sugar in the Terai beginning a few weeks before this count was made. It was regrettable since demand was high due to the approaching Dasain festivities. It is possible that the large quantities of biscuits in the shipments noted were brought in as a substitute for sugar.

With the extra expenditure stimulated by the Dasain festival, one is tempted to explain what seems to be a large volume of trade indicated by these figures by the increased demands of Dasain. But I was assured both by local businessmen in Chainpur and Hile as well as by the porter contractors that the traffic I noted on September 28 is fairly average throughout the year. My total of 452 porters (a-5 hour count) when multiplied by approximately $2\frac{1}{2}$ times to arrive at the daily volume comes very close to the 1,000 porters per day estimated by the contractors themselves.

The tabulated data should be read together with a map of the region. One will note that just beyond Hile, the road divides, with the Bhojpur, Khandbari, Dingla and Chainpur traffic turning westward to follow the Arun river trail. The goods for Terhathum and Taplejung move along the Milkadanda ridge for some distance before going east. Noting that the number of porters heading to Terhathum and Taplejung totals 229, we know that the traffic leaving Hile divides almost exactly in half to the eastern and western market centres.

We have listed the porters in the groups they were moving and according to their destinations. By keeping the loads ordered in this manner we intend to show two features: one is the movement of porters in groups, the groups in which they were contracted; the other is to indicate their movement to specific markets. On the whole those porters heading to a specific market have been contracted together and remain together over the course of the 4-6 days the trip may require. At Hile, during our tally, we would catch a group resting and waiting for their straggling companions. As soon as all had caught up, they set off again, leaving little time for an interview. The centres they cite as their destinations only sometimes represent the market where their loads will be sold. They are only the points to which these porters have been contracted, and once their loads are deposited there other merchants arrange for the next stage of the journey. But most of the goods reaching the centres listed are sold through their respective shops.

It will be noted that the itemized goods listed are not quantified either by porter load or weight. This table shows the variety of goods distributed among each group of porters travelling together. It is not possible to give the precise number of baskets or weight of each commodity since a single basket may contain an assemblage of several. For example, on top of a sack of salt, one may find packets of biscuits, shoes and thread all tied together. Kerosene is the only product carried separately. This table is not meant to show the tonnage of individual goods. To calculate the precise amount of each product sent into the hills, more accurate figures will be collected from Dharan and Fursay merchants - those are the distribution and loading centres from where the porters leave. At Fursay, only a few kilometers north of Dharan

where the tar road ends and transport must be shifted to porters, there are 22 salt godowns. A survey of their annual or daily turnover will yield an accurate account of the salt trade. Similarly, from the 12 Fursay cloth shops where most of the cloth going north originates, similar quantification may be made. The other products come from a wider distribution of shops in Dharan itself, making quantification a little more complex.

The report is presented as an introduction to the trade economy of the Arun Valley. In compiling this material I hope to provide quantification of the processes described but in addition I seek to draw attention to this powerful and telling transport economy, suggesting that further attention in this area will yield a deeper understanding of the hill economy as well as some direction for later economic developments.

Footnotes

1. I was assisted in this work by Mr. Jangbo Sherpa of Garma.
2. Here I am speaking both of the lower river route which we explored for 2 days and then returned to Chainpur, and the ridge route along the lower part of the Milkadanda. We followed the latter into Hile where we again meet up with the lower route traffic.
3. Almost ever traveller going into the hills is a porter, fully loaded to capacity.
4. About one porter in every 15 is a woman. Of those we asked, all say they are from Taplejung side, speaking a Sherpa dialect. Those we did not speak to were dressed similarly and had the same physical features, so we assume they too are Taplejung women.
5. This was September 28, picked at random, after we had been in Hile for some days.
6. This is mustard oil, for cooking.



rote learning in nepalese public schools

Steven K. Million

Research of rote learning and related topics has been extensive, but is unusually limited specific to the Nepalese application of the technique. Therefore, this article will (1) attempt to cite studies yielding information transferable to the Nepalese situation, and (2) restrict the scope of concern to studies of educational psychology, pragmatic philosophy, and analytic philosophy.

When a citizen of a western-hemispheric nation visits Nepal, few national characteristics are more striking in an institutional sense than the Nepalese public schools. The visitor may be astonished at the large number of students who are not in attendance at a school, but instead work in the fields or shops owned by their families. Perhaps the visitor will notice the significant shortage of printed materials and the near absence of even the most unsophisticated audio-visual equipment. Of all possible characteristics, however, the western observer may decide that it is the methodology by which Nepalese children are taught that is most unlike systems to which he has been exposed.

Rote learning is the most-used methodology in many Nepalese schools. It can generally be characterized as exhibiting (1) rote memorization of material selected for learning, (2) unison class recitation of the selected material, and (3) extensive utilization of review techniques strictly rote in nature. Various other components of rote learning can be identified, but the ones presented here most completely reflect the Nepalese utilization of the methodology.

Normally, a teacher presides over a class of Nepalese students and leads them in repetitive drill of selected material. The teacher will recite the material aloud and the class will echo his statements in unison. Often, such unison class-participation becomes quite noisy, even to the point of appearing unruly. Nonetheless, this procedure is repeated often enough to insure that most students commit the teacher's statements to memory. Subsequent to this stage in the learning process, the teacher's presence is no longer essential. This being the case, the teacher occasionally assigns a student (often from a more advanced grade-level) the responsibility of leading the recitation-exercises. In this manner the rote technique is utilized in courses of foreign language, mathematics, and the social sciences. It is more often employed on the primary level than in subsequent schooling, though this is not to suggest that its use is consciously deemphasized on secondary or higher education levels.

The preceding description attempts to explain rote learning as it is applied in Nepalese schools. The technique, however, is not unknown in other cultures and has attracted considerable attention from educational psychologists, educational philosophers, and other learning theorists.

For many psychologists, rote learning is a process whereby specific items are mentally recorded but may or may not be associated with other previously learned cognitive structures. David Ausubel describes items learned by rote as "discrete and relatively isolated entities that are related to cognitive structure only in an arbitrary and verbatim fashion, not permitting the establishment of 'meaningful' relationships"¹ Generally, such material is considered meaningless beyond some immediate utilitarian function. For example, Brown suggests that most persons can memorize numerous telephone numbers and zip codes, but will not associate these things with cognitive hierarchical organization.² Having thus been memorized, such material is highly vulnerable to the diminishing effects of cognitively related material (hereafter referred to as "interference"), and may be quickly lost in the absence of intermittent reinforcement.³ Consequently, rote learning as a process is responsible for no more than a small percentage of human learning.⁴

School authorities in Nepal assert that their efforts are directed toward the thorough teaching of selected material to all students. If, by teaching, the authorities mean presenting material for student "comprehension", then Richard C. Anderson might question their methodology. Anderson identifies the critical processes of comprehension as orthographic (perceptual features), phonological (acoustical features) and semantic (cognitive features).⁵ He identifies each process as an encoding stage and defines the characteristics of each.

According to Anderson's analysis, a learner will initially utilize the orthographic and phonological encodings (depending upon the mode of material presentation) for all learning. However, the semantic or highest level of cognitive encoding is not a necessary result of the previous two. It is possible, for example, to repeat verbatim a memorized set of materials without awareness of its meaning. In addition, this kind of comprehension can be retained for long periods.⁶ Such evidence seems to pose serious questions about the truly cognitive value of rote learning.

Perhaps the real aim of Nepalese education is not comprehension of subject matter, but performance of certain curriculum-related-criterion tasks (i.e., successful completion of the School Leaving Certificate Examination). In this case, an analysis of data gathered for Sax, Eilenberg, and Klockars indicate support for learning blocks of material which can later be recoded and applied to answering complex questions.⁷ The study indicates that the greater the original block of information the higher the

students' achievement across all tests. These results support the hierarchical model of learning, which elsewhere defines "achievement" as a function of learning those skills prerequisite to performing specific criterion-tasks.⁸ However, none of the more contemporary research validates earlier admonitions that all references to concept-acquisition should be replaced by pure-rote learning.⁹ Disputes with the validity of the hierarchical model have appeared on several fronts.

Thorndike argued in favour of a "transfer model" of learning which proposes that similarity between the material being learned and the criterion-task will facilitate the necessary transfer process.¹⁰ It may be possible to extrapolate from the transfer model the idea that test items based upon rote recall do have some degree of value even when the criterion task is more complex. This is substantiated by recent research, which encourages the use of complex test-items to increase student motivation for learning complex skills.¹¹ If performance of criterion-tasks is the aim of rote learning, how effective is the rote method in promoting maintenance of the information necessary to perform such tasks over extended periods of time? In other words, how effective is rote learning in promoting retention?

Retention is defined as preservation of the after-effects of learning, "so that recall or recognition is possible".¹² When recall or recognition is not possible, forgetting is said to have occurred. Obviously, retention and forgetting are inversely related. When learning is retained (even for fewer than 30 seconds), retention is functioning. On the other hand, when the same material can no longer be remembered, forgetting has taken place.

Historically, forgetting was blamed upon cognitive decay over time. According to that theory, the demise of retention could be accelerated by disuse. However, more contemporary research indicates that forgetting is selective,¹³ and that some material is more easily forgotten than is similar material simultaneously learned. Within several of the more recent theories of forgetting exists the consensus that interference serves as the primary cause for loss of retention. Such interference can develop from either retroactive (subsequent learning) or proactive (previous learning) sources. Of the research done in this area, the latest studies substantiate the thesis that proactive interference is most often responsible for retention loss.¹⁴ This finding has great significance when viewed in the context of secondary and higher-level learners whose past experiences provide great potential for proactive interference. When considered in conjunction with its limited associational capability, the rote method appears to be highly inefficient at these levels. It might be concluded that such evidence supports use of rote learning in primary grades, where proactive interference would likely be minimal. Such a position would appear to ignore the question of rote learning's

cognitive value, and could be advanced for almost any teaching methodology at the elementary-school level.

If Ausubel, Brown, Anderson, and others are correct in their assessments of rote learning, the inquiry must then turn to an alternative technique that is considered more desirable. Many educational psychologists suggest that such an alternative is concept-acquisition learning. It is best defined as an efficient process of conceptualization, relating newly learned "material to relevant established entities in cognitive structure."¹⁵ More simply, this means that newly learned material is understood in a manner that allows for meaningful association with previously acquired information. Such learning characterizes most human acquisition and generally is very efficient in resisting interference. Brown refers to one process associated with meaningful learning as "cognitive pruning."¹⁶ He identifies it as a mental process arising from a need for cognitive economy. Its primary function is elimination of unnecessary confusion within the cognitive field. By pruning out less needed material, organization of more important structures is facilitated. He further explains that, in the earliest stages of learning, the cognitive field is cluttered with fragments of information. However, as the process of "cognitive pruning" proceeds, certain less essential elements are eliminated and the remaining scattered structures tend to pull together. The final product is "perceived as a single whole without clearly defined parts."¹⁷ Perhaps the most promising aspect of this theory is Brown's assertion that "cognitive pruning" is a systematic process, capable of being controlled. If he is correct, and if this function can later be isolated, then teacher promotion of outstanding pruning procedures should facilitate learning. In addition, Brown predicts that use of the pruning procedure has potential for producing "retention far beyond that normally expected under the more traditional theories of forgetting."¹⁸

The preceding discussion of the psychological aspects of Nepalese rote learning may seem somewhat unsatisfying and inconclusive. Perhaps this can be partially explained by considering the more fundamental questions involved. For example, how is it possible to evaluate the various merits of rote learning or concept-acquisition until a fundamental term such as "teaching" has been assigned a clear meaning? Likewise, how can the capability of any method to supply students with comprehension be questioned, before a functional definition of "comprehension" has been adopted? It is to these and other related questions that this paper now turns.

When educational psychologists and other learning theorists refer to a given activity as "teaching", what do they actually mean? Thomas F. Green has attempted via an analytic technique to define this term and others by reducing them to their lowest terms. His interpretations are consistent with those of most other contemporary educational philosophers, and are of special value to this discussion in their demonstration of the interrelatedness of educational terminology. Green begins by suggesting that "teaching cannot be understood as the kind of activity that causes learning, because it can occur when learning does not. Moreover, learning can occur when there is no teaching."¹⁹ This would seem to imply that learning can be an occurrence of teaching, but that learning is not a necessary result of teaching. Perhaps it also suggests that factors other than those of teaching serve as partial determinants of learning. If this is so, it may provide some explanation of why even a superior teacher cannot "teach" the simplest concept to a tree.

Our concern, however, is with teaching human beings and not trees. Therefore, in terms of human learning what is intended by use of the word "teaching"? Green suggests that there are at least two contexts of the term "teaching," one of which is "... concerned primarily with shaping behaviour, and molding habits."²⁰ He delineates this context from the one in which the "... primary interest is to shape beliefs or to communicate knowledge."²¹ Green seems to believe that the distinction between these concepts is a linguistic one. That is, the concepts have different meanings when in the English language one makes reference to "teaching someone to do so-and-so," or "teaching someone that so-and-so is the case."²² This contextual delineation deserves further explanation.

Within Green's first identified context, he proposes the phenomenon of behaviour formation. Contained within this context are those kinds of teaching-activity that produce behavioural conformity. For example, teaching a child to close a door after he has entered or exited a room. Such behaviour is likely not instinctive in the sense that the child would have consistently performed such an act in the absence of some variety of instruction. Therefore, in order that the desired behaviour occur, the subject-child must in some way be taught to perform it. Other examples of this teaching phenomenon may be recognized in teaching students not to make disturbances while the teacher is offering instruction, and in teaching French language students to say without hesitation "bon jour" when they meet a Frenchman during the day and "bon soir" when they meet him at night.

Green's second context focuses upon the transmission of knowledge. Within this level, the purpose of teaching seems to be transmission of selected information from teacher to student.

Such teaching occurs when a child is taught that Christopher Columbus discovered America, that $E = mc^2$ is an Einsteinian theory, or that the Van Allen radiation belt surrounds the earth and extends outward from a point 500 miles above the planet to a distance of nearly 1,000 miles.

Utilizing the two contexts outlined above, Green further defines "teaching" by discussing other terms which he suggests are components of its broader concept. He begins this discussion by examining the word "training."

Green writes that "the distinction between teaching and training turns upon the degree to which the behaviour aimed at in teaching or training is a manifestation of intelligence."²³ He explains that in a broad contextual sense the focus of teaching appears to be upon a display of intelligence. The primary concern of training, on the other hand, is the shaping of behaviour. Such a concern can be contrasted to the concept "teaching" that exhibits a more expansive focus, including not only the shaping of behaviour but also the transmission of information. Green believes that, as the emphasis of training shifts increasingly away from a display of knowledge (and apparently, increasingly toward behaviour shaping), application of the training-concept weakens. When the emphasis has attained a certain (albeit nebulous) magnitude, the term "training" is appropriately displaced by the term "conditioning." Obviously, training and conditioning are related conceptually, but Green theorizes that the result of conditioning "is not expressive of intelligence."²⁴ He appears to view conditioning in much the same manner a S-R psychologist might. Accordingly, Green would likely perceive "conditioning" as what Pavlov was demonstrating with his dogs. Surely Pavlov's intention was not to create a discernible display of intelligence from the dogs, but was rather aimed at elicitation of specific behaviour.

An implication of Green's definition of conditioning might suggest that it is not a method of instruction. Green points out, however, that conditioning can be a significant component of a methodology that is in part designed to shape behaviour expressive of intelligence.

When a reader mentally formulates a concept in compliance with Green's definition of "teaching" and subtracts from it those features that Green identifies as "training", the remainder should be similar to what Green nominates as "instructing." He writes that "what we seek to express by the phrase 'giving instruction' is precisely what we seek to omit by use of the word training."²⁵ It would appear that "instruction" as a concept holds meaning for Green that involves "communication" between teacher and student. This communication, moreover, appears directed toward acquisition of knowledge rather than toward behaviour shaping. Green refers to this teacher-student communication as "conversation,"²⁶ and

points to its significance as a conveyer of an appreciation for academic honesty. For example, when a teacher emphasizes the need for reasons, explanations, valid measurement, logical argument, proper evidence, etc., implicit within such emphasis is an appreciation for teaching and for forming conclusions upon evidence that is honest (believable). It is only when the concern for such academic honesty is dwarfed by a desire merely to transmit beliefs that the concept of instructing begins to break down. The result of this potential deterioration is what Green designates as "indoctrination."

The concept of "indoctrination" differs from instructing primarily "in the weight given to the pursuit of truth as opposed to the simple transmission of beliefs. ..." For Green, the aim of indoctrination is the selling of an idea. The teacher's goal is student acceptance of the material presented. In this sense, the teacher seeks commitment to an idea by the student. If the student accepts the idea, then the indoctrination is successful. In other words, the concern of the teacher is to have particular ideas adopted by the student. The question of an idea's validity is unimportant since the only aim of indoctrination is acceptance. In terms of practical school application, indoctrination "aims at inculcating the 'right answer,' but not necessarily for the 'right reasons' or ever for good reasons."²⁸ This may suggest that in terms of its ability to impart inaccurate information, indoctrination is a potentially dangerous technique. As an illustration of this potential danger, an earlier reference was made in this article to the Van Allen radiation belt (page 60). In that brief passage information was supplied and likely accepted by all but the most informed and critical reader. That information, however, was imprecise. The earlier discussion of the Van Allen Belt reported its width as extending from 500 to 1,000 miles into space. Unfortunately for the reader who may have attempted to utilize those figures, the true dimensions appear to range from 500 to 30,000 miles into space. This transmission of misinformation was intentional and is here exposed to emphasize the potential of unscrupulous use of indoctrinative techniques for academic, political, social, religious, or other purposes. Nor should accidental transmission of misinformation be minimized. If the validity of material presented for learning is not periodically (or perhaps continuously) questioned and measured, such accidents can occur. This is of special significance in view of Ernest E. Bayles' contention that "insight" may be vague, unanalyzed, and even incorrect.²⁹ He indicates that the nature of an insight's truthfulness does not alter its existence as "insight", nor does it limit the insight's function in modification of behaviour. This may intensify the admonition that teachers refrain from utilizing indoctrinative techniques and conscientiously avoid accidental transmission of inaccurate information.

The previous discussions have approached the question of rote learning in terms of teacher actions. However, Walter Feinberg points out that limiting the question of indoctrination (and other teaching methodologies) to teacher activities, ignores false beliefs and irrational values frequently held by students.³⁰ He appears concerned that such limited consideration of methodology may allow the teacher to avoid responsibility for student-held beliefs and values when they are not the direct result of classroom student teacher interactions. Apparently, Feinberg believes that there are certain culturally predictable, student-held, false beliefs and irrational values. Therefore, it would seem that teachers can reinforce such beliefs and values by omission of explanation, as well as by commission of indoctrination.

Bayles proposes that teachers must lead the way in helping students develop "better attitudes toward life than those they bring to school."³¹ He suggests that the teacher advance certain provisional definitions of "good" or "better." These definitions are then tested for their appropriateness in application to cases for which their use is stipulated. On the basis of these criterion definitions, students can determine not only what results or positions are suggested by their logical application, but also whether the definitions have proven useful as guides. If they are proven satisfactory in one or more cases, then they may be considered for application to others as well. Bayles writes, "... to work out the conclusions and commitments that a criterion logically requires is a vital consideration in determining whether it is to be adopted for further employment. If it serves satisfactorily for one occasion or purpose, it may give promise of doing so for others. In this way the breadth of its useability can be gauged."³²

This discussion began by asking what educational psychologists and other learning theorists mean when they refer to a specific act as "teaching." Hopefully, the preceding dissection of the concept will offer support to the contention that few educationalists have a clear understanding of "teaching." More likely, they view teaching as instructing, training, indoctrinating, conditioning, or a combination of several or all of these. Such conceptual divergence tends to confuse questions of educational significance, and renders their solutions virtually impossible.

Originally, this article proposed to analyze rote learning, as the technique is utilized in Nepal. The Nepalese technique, as suggested earlier, is characterized as exhibiting (1) memorization of materials presented for learning, (2) unison class recitation of the material learned by rote, and (3) extensive use of review techniques strictly rote in nature. It is the position of the author that the latter two characteristics function primarily to reinforce rote memorization of selected materials. Therefore, this analysis will be limited to discussion of the former characteristic. Perhaps the first step would be to ask what rote learning means.

By definition, "rote learning" is a fixed or mechanical method of teaching and learning. Beyond this definition, modern dictionary sources suggest that doing something by rote connotes the use of memorization with limited cognitive effort.³³ Fundamentally, the use of the rote-learning technique also assumes possession of information deemed important and worthy of transmission. However, this is not to imply that possession of information can be equated with a desire to transmit it. Some might argue that not all possessed information is worthy of transmission; in fact, such determination by teachers is often purely subjective unless dictated by some higher authority. If a block or piece of information is judged not suitable for transmission, then as student becomes teacher the information may no longer be possessed. In the course of time, such information may cease to be an extant commodity. Furthermore, this assumption of worth has special significance in a purely rote system. If rote learners become so fixed within the rote method that only material presented by rote is deemed worthy of being learned, then it would seem that the selector of "worthy information" wields tremendous potential academic influence. Further, as the selected information may involve political, social, philosophic, cultural, religious, or other matters, its influence could assume proportions beyond academe.

A second major assumption within the rote learning concept is that by memorizing material one will "learn" that material. Critics of the rote method have often argued that ability to recite from memory cannot be equated with having learned what is recited. This debate is crucial to any discussion of rote learning, and deserves further refinement. Such refinement might commence with a question of the true nature of memorization and of what it means to learn something.

Memory is "non-inferential knowledge of past perceptual objects ... or of past emotions, feelings and states of consciousness of the remembering subject ..." ³⁴ Psychologically, the concept is divisible into three functions which are "(a) revival or reproduction of the memory image, (b) recognition of the image as belonging to the past of the remembering subject, and (c) temporal localization of the remembered object by reference to a psychological or physical time-scheme." ³⁵ In other words, memory is a kind of knowledge. This particular kind of knowledge, however, is non-inferential and limited to previous perceptions, emotions, feelings, etc. As Ausubel is quoted as pointing out earlier in this article rote learned items tend to be discrete and isolated from other cognitive structures. ³⁶ And, in terms of "comprehension" Anderson argues that rote learned material can be reproduced verbatim, but that such skill is not synonymous with comprehension. ³⁷ Therefore, if it is possible to draw a tentative parallel between comprehension (understanding) on one hand and memorization on the other, perhaps we can approach a meaningful distinction between the two sides of this question.

Comprehension seems to differ from memorization primarily in its capability of serving as inferential knowledge. If the object of teaching is the yielding of inferential knowledge, then present information would suggest that rote learning is an inefficient methodology. Alternatively, if the object of teaching is ready recall of material with little or no emphasis upon its relationship to other cognitive structures or its efficiency as an inferential tool, then rote learning is an acceptable technique.

The advocates of rote learning appear to find value in the very act of repeating material, as though such repetition will produce some desired result other than memorization. This assumption of the value of repetitive drill is not unlike various forms of S-R conditioning, as advanced by Skinnerian psychologists. They contend that repetitive drill tends to stamp in bonds which in turn shape behaviour. However, Bayles has written that "successive repetitions, instead of serving merely to stamp in bonds, serve rather as successive opportunities for gaining insight."³⁸ According to Bayles, psychologists now realize that a complex skill (one that involves numerous insights) may be learned a piece at a time. "That is to say, the learner catches one point here, adopts it, and makes an improvement; catches another point there, adopts it, and makes another improvement. ..." ³⁹ In essence, Bayles has suggested that acquiring knowledges, skills, and attitudes are all the result of developing insights. In so far as repetition may increase the number of opportunities for creation or modification of insight, it has value. This argument, however, does not support reliance upon repetitive drill. Bayles argues that the purpose of acquiring knowledge is to secure retrieval of information pertinent to a given situation at a given time. Such retrieval is possible by means of "logical deduction." That is to say, mental operations appear to follow very definite patterns. If a learner understands these patterns, he can go directly to desired information regardless of his prior knowledge of its location or even of its existence. It is that process of "logical deduction" that serves as the locational guide to information, not memorization. Bayles writes that "thought patterns represent the filing systems of the mind. To be able to 'follow the run' of a thought pattern is to understand it. Broad principles or generalizations-high-level abstractions-constitute thought patterns that have high retrieval value; they represent the kind of knowledge that makes transfer readily possible and enables a possessor to find it useful."⁴⁰ Bayles' position is overt denial of the efficacy of repetitive drill. If only experiences that produce new or modified insights are of value in promoting learning, there must be more positive means than rote of promoting such.

To decide whether learning has occurred when material has been memorized, one must be specific in his definition of learning. If learning means "memorization," then it would be absurd to argue that use of the rote method is inappropriate. It is precisely as "memorization" that English-speaking persons often use the term "learning". For example, a person might ask a newly arrived immigrant to the United States whether he has learned the Pledge of Allegiance. In posing this question, the inquirer probably is asking, "Have you succeeded in memorizing the Pledge of Allegiance?" It is highly unlikely that the person asking the original question sought information about the immigrant's understanding of the Pledge, knowledge of its historical significance, or any matter other than its memorization. In this manner, "learning" can be used and interpreted to mean memorization, and as such to exhibit the qualities of memory described above. It seems apparent, then, that critics of the method must have a very different interpretation in mind when they argue that rote technique does not produce "learning".

Learning can also mean acquiring knowledge of or skill in some subject or function. According to such a view, something becomes known, has meaning for an individual, and assumes a place among his cognitive structures. Within such a definition of learning, cognitive relationships between present and previous knowledge are possible, as is the apprehension of truth (or what is believed to be truth). This particular sense of learning implies relationships among the object, the subject, and previous (and, potentially, futuristic) knowledge which is inferential. Such an idea of learning is not far removed from what Bayles refers to as the "goal-insight" theory.⁴¹ Bayles proposes that the process of learning could be defined as "development of a sense of direction or bearing which can be used, when occasion offers and if found desirable, as a guide for conduct."⁴² As a process, Bayles identifies learning as "something which happens to persons,"⁴³ as distinct from inanimate objects such as trees, buildings, or cars. This "something" is a specific connotation or insight. Insight, then, is the cognitive aspect of behaviour that enables an individual to serve ways of accomplishing goals. The "need" to attain goals is an individual's wants, desires, or cravings and may lead to specific actions. As new insights are developed or older ones modified, learning occurs. On the basis of such learning, an individual may assume new attitudes or dispositions related in some manner to what has been learned.

Bayles' assertion may be reflected in the following example of a Mississippi riverboat captain who discovers that a section of the River, along his normal northbound route, is blocked by shifting sandbars. He considers this new situation and decides to bypass the sandbars by proceeding northward though the dangerously busy southbound channel. In such a situation, Bayles would likely contend that behaviour modification resulted from a change

in the captain's view of the "confronting situation". Such modification involved learning only in the sense that the captain "learned" of the existence of the sandbars. If, on the other hand, at some point along the journey, one of the crew falls seriously ill, the captain may decide to steer the riverboat southward to the nearest town. In this case, the change in behaviour is the result of a modification of the captain's goal, such modification growing out of his new insight into the sailor's condition. Again, as before, Bayles would likely contend that learning occurred in the sense that new insight was developed. There are also cases wherein an individual may develop a "realizing sense"⁴⁴ of a matter. Having attained such, the individual may be said to possess true insight.

Consider again the situation of the riverboat proceeding up-river. As the boat nears that section of the River previously found impassible, a crewman informs the captain of the existence of a previously unknown river that flows northward to the boat's destination. The captain weighs the alternatives, and decides to attempt passage over the newly known river. He discovers that the river is adequately deep and wide, and determines to make it a part of his regular route. In this instance, the captain has developed (or modified) his insight into the previously unused river. Bayles would likely contend that such an occurrence is an example of "learning."

Bayles' theory of learning is vital to this study in that it attempts to indicate precisely the kind of activity that results in learning. The riverboat captain of the example above, may have memorized the names of all Mississippi tributary rivers. However, it was not until the captain saw and sailed over the newly known river, that he tested the truth of his insight. In so doing he may have attained what Dewey nominated a "realizing sense" of the tested insight.

In each of the examples of Bayles' theory proposed above, the riverboat captain was presented with information that led to new insight or modification of previous insight.⁴⁵ The emphasizing of insight development or modification, however, does not appear to be a consistent characteristic of the rote learning technique. Instead, the emphasis for insight development or modification is preempted by concern for memorization of specific material. Such material, acquired through rote learning, has only the connotation of itself and nothing beyond. It is isolated knowledge and limited in its capacity to evoke further insight.

The assumption, that one will learn material if he will memorize it, is supported only when "learn" is interpreted to mean "memorize." This statement may appear tautological, but, as it relates to the question of rote learning's validity as a process capable of producing learning, it is important to recognize that

persons often equate learning with memory. If, however, "learn" is used in the sense of acquiring inferential knowledge, skill, or meaningful associations with previously developed cognitive structures, the rote technique is basically ineffectual.

The psychological and philosophical writings cited in this article seem to exhibit a common theme admonishing the instructor to teach more than simple facts; that is, to teach the student material that will have meaning in his "real world". Robert E. Halstead has analyzed the various plausible meanings of the slogan "teach for understanding."⁴⁶ He concludes his analysis by stating that "the concern expressed by the slogan is that if we teach specific facts and pay no attention to whether students are seeing the relationships among these facts and learning how to make these relations themselves ..., the world experienced by the students will be impoverished and often senseless."⁴⁷

Apparently, memorization of material is not always synonymous with its comprehension. Therefore, heavy utilization of rote learning in Nepal may produce superficial knowledge; that is, knowledge of material allowing rote recall, but deficient in "comprehension" as that term has been defined by contemporary educational psychologists. Furthermore, if such deficiency in comprehension so limits a student's appreciation of the potential interrelatedness of the material he has learned to other material previously learned as well as to material yet unknown, then his ability to associate new material with previously organized cognitive structures may be inhibited, and his capabilities as a learner thereby diminished.

Footnotes

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38. Bayles, The Theory and Practice of Teaching, op. cit., p. 69.
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41. Ibid., p. 30.
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43. Ibid., p. 66.
44. John Dewey, Democracy and Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), p. 272.

45. It is interesting to note that Robert M. Gagne, an educational psychologist, advanced a definition of learning in 1965 similar to that proposed earlier by Bayles. Gagne's definition appeared in his publication The Conditions of Learning (op. cit.), and is reproduced here in its entirety to avoid misinterpretation. He has written that "learning is a change in human disposition or capability, which can be retained, and which is not simply ascribable to the process of growth. The kind of change called learning exhibits itself as a change in behaviour, and the inference of learning is made by comparing what behaviour was possible before the individual was placed in a 'learning situation' and what behaviour can be exhibited after such treatment. The change may be, and often is, an increased capability for some type of performance. It may also be an altered disposition of the sort called "attitude", or "interest," or "value." The change must have more than momentary permanence; it must be capable of being retained over some period of time. Finally, it must be distinguishable from the kind of change that is attributable to growth, such as a change in height or the development of muscles through exercise."
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migratory traders of baragaon

Sidney Schuler

This paper is a preliminary report, a discussion of seasonal migratory trading patterns of the population of Baragaon. The villages concerned are located in the Kagbeni and Muktinath Panchayats in the central part of Mustang District, Nepal.

Background

Baragaon is an area located along a traditional trade-route between Tibet, the middle hills of Nepal, and the plains region of the Nepalese Terai and northern India. A number of articles have been written about the trading history of the very successful Thakali entrepreneurs just south of Baragaon.¹ The people of Baragaon were also salt-traders at the time that the Thakalis gained supremacy in the area (late 19th and early 20th century), but for reasons that have been discussed elsewhere,² the people to the north of Thak Khola never made large profits in the way that the Thakalis did.

Now that the salt-trade has declined in importance, the economies of both Thak Khola and Baragaon have begun to take new directions. These areas have always had mixed economies. The region is so arid that agriculture alone is not sufficient to sustain the population. Thus, most households combine agriculture with animal-raising and trade.

The main innovations have occurred in the area of trade. The emphasis has shifted from north to south, and salt is no longer the staple of trade. Salt from Mustang and Tibet is now both less available and in less demand, but there is nothing to replace it. The area has few resources that can be carried south by individuals and marketed. Increasingly, it is capital (itself scarce), mainly in the form of loans and profits from local animal trade that is taken south. It is by leg-work (buying an item and carrying it to a place where its price is higher), wits (knowing what, where, and how to sell) and luck that profit is made, loans paid off, and bags of grain and perhaps a few consumer items are brought back to supplement a family's yearly crops.

One of the most popular trade items of the past few years has been factory-made sweaters; bought in Ludhiana (in N.W. India) and carried for days on trains to sell in Assam and Nagaland (extreme N.E. India). For those who are clever and lucky enough not to fall prey to thieves, the profit can be good, but there are also losses and debts that increase year after year. Many, perhaps the majority of traders, return with no loss but negligible profits,

managing only to feed themselves during the winter months and to reduce some of the strain on the family store of grain.

The trading of sweaters and various other items in India (herbal medicines, for instance) is almost exclusively a male pursuit. Young women who engage in migratory trade are mainly involved in the production and sale of barley beer (chang) and distilled alcohol (raksi) along the trade-routes. They may also run small shops in Pokhara or in nearby villages, usually in the company of a small group of friends or relatives.

Profile of the Trading Population

The typical pattern is for old people and children to remain in the villages and youths and young adults to travel south for the winter. In Jajarkot (Mukhtinath Panchayat) for instance, 62% of the males between the ages of 20 and 54, and 51% of those between 15 and 54 migrated south this past winter. This compares with 36% of the total male population (156 persons) who migrated south. The migration of women is somewhat less, but still considerable. 44% of the women between the ages of 20 and 29 migrated south, and 33% of those between the ages of 15 and 39. Of the total female population (152), 19% migrated south. Of the total female population (152), 19% migrated south. Of the total population of Jarkot (male and female combined), 28% migrated south for the winter, and with the exception of children under the age of 15, most of them were engaged in trade of some kind. (see Figure 1).

The "trading age-bracket" seems to encompass individuals from about 15 to 54 years of age; the age-range being slightly narrower for women. The mean age-bracket for men who migrated is age 30-34 and for women age 20-24. If children under the age of 15 are eliminated (since they are generally non-traders), the mean age for male traders is still 30-34 and that for women is the same.³

The Decision to Migrate

When one asks a local person why he or she goes south, the answer is usually one or all of the following: "We have to go south because the food from our fields isn't enough." "It's very cold here in winter - no one likes to stay," or "Everyone goes south - only the old people and the children who can't walk stay in the villages." As far as these explanations go they may be accurate, but as can be seen from the statistics above, only a certain percentage, and not the whole population in the trading age-bracket actually did migrate south last winter. Positive reasons "why people go south" cannot very well be used to explain or predict why some do and some don't.

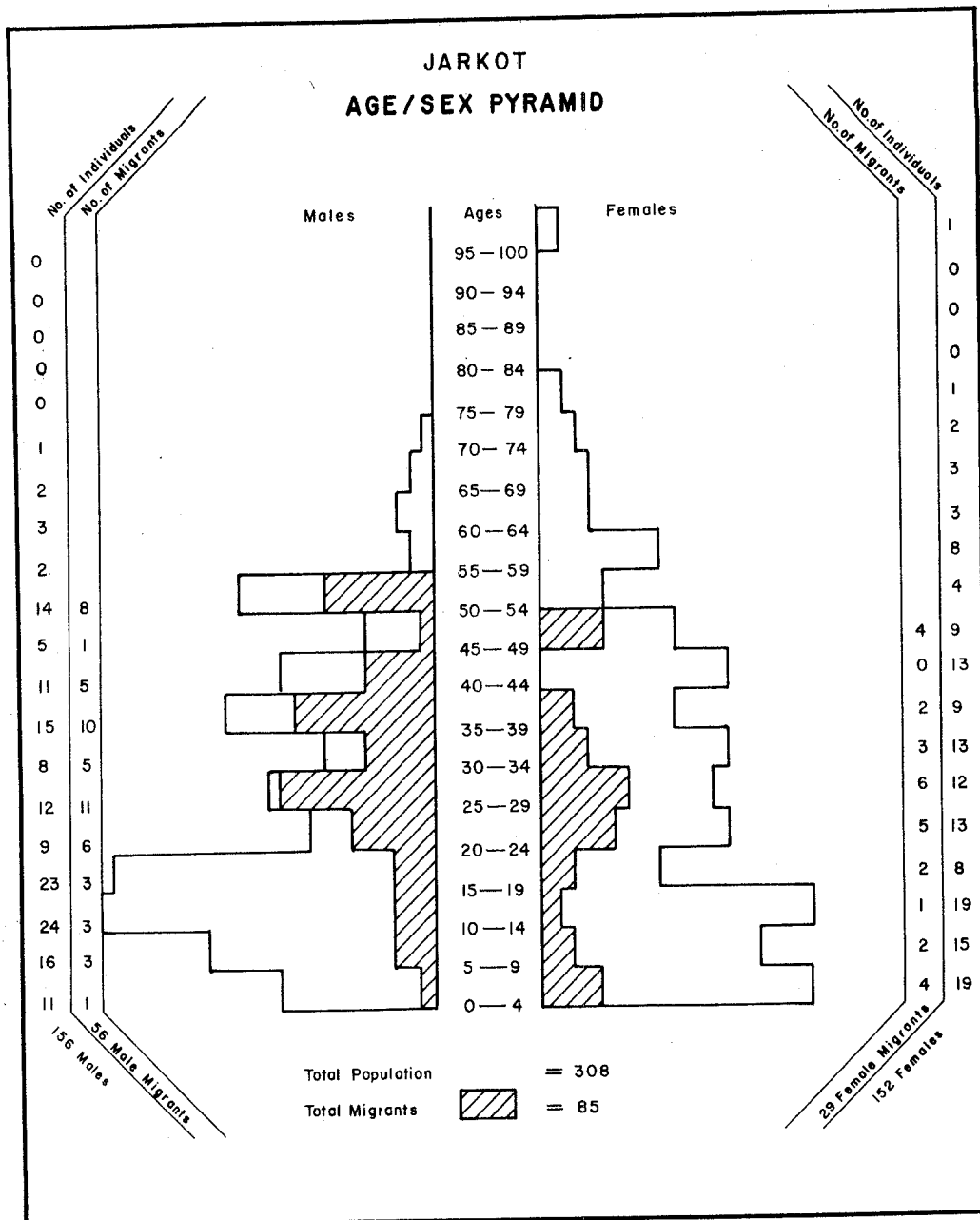


Fig. 1

On this basis I have modified the first of the local explanations ("We have to go south because the food from our fields isn't enough.") by adding its converse, i.e., that when the food from his or her fields is adequate, an individual will probably not engage in migratory trading.⁴ In the following pages, I have attempted to test this explanation by investigating the extent to which trading and non-trading are related to wealth in land.

Methodology

To do so I used the landholding records compiled by the local Survey Office⁵ and my own census data pertaining to household composition, ages, seasonal trade, etc. The methodological problems were substantial and a large number of cases had to be discarded because the reliability of my information was questionable. Since the registration of land by the government was done for the first time in this area only two years ago, there were likely to be inaccuracies. As a cross-check, I obtained an estimate of the amount of land, either in numbers of fields or in ropanis, for each household in my sample. These were supplied in some cases by a member of the household, and in some cases by another villager. Since people are often reluctant to reveal the exact amount of their land, and are not accustomed to thinking in ropanis, this could not be taken as an accurate measure. It was, however, useful in weeding out cases for which the government records seemed implausible.

There was an additional problem: that in the government records land is classified in four categories. In order to proceed it was necessary to reduce these four categories to comparable units. This was done on the basis of the taxation rate for each of these categories in the hilly region: abal - rs. 2, doyam - rs. 1.50, sim - rs. 1, and chahar - rs. .50 per ropani.⁶

My sample includes cases from 5 villages: Jarkot, Kagbeni, Tiri, Dangardzong, and Phalak, each ranging from 15 to 65 households in size. My census data for the first three villages was fairly complete, so I was able to include a large proportion of households from these villages. Because of the difficulties already discussed, I had to exclude from my sample a large number of households from Phalak and Dangardzong. The final sample consisted of 135 households and included 672 individuals. In comparing relative wealth in land with presence or absence of migratory trading, I was uncertain whether to use the individual or the household as the relevant unit. For that reason I have tried it each way. The results are as follows.

Statistical Patterns

(see Figure 2). A significant pattern emerges when the household is treated as an economic unit (engaging or not engaging in migratory trade) and the individual as a land-using unit (i.e., a food consumer). The pattern is that the greatest number of trading households in proportion to non-trading households come from the second-lowest landholding group, the group in which each individual holds 5-9 units of land. The lower group (0-4 units per individual) contains proportionately fewer trading families. In fact, apart from the second-lowest landholding group, there is no significant difference in the proportion of trading and non-trading families within any of the landholding groups.⁷

I suggest the following explanation, that:

1. Individuals in the lowest landholding group tend to be so poor that it is usually impossible for them to accumulate sufficient capital for migratory trading.

2. The lands of this group are so meager that they are forced to take up employment in their own villages. This group would include blacksmiths, tailors, goatherds, house-servants and fieldhands. These types of employment (with the exception, perhaps, of fieldhands), are not seasonal, but are generally paid monthly by the village as a whole or by patron households.

3. The individuals in the second-lowest landholding group, the trading group, tend to be rich enough to accumulate or borrow some capital for trading.

4. Individuals in this group have enough land so that during the agricultural season they work mainly in their own fields rather than others'.

5. However, the agricultural produce per individual in this group is insufficient to sustain everyone in it through the winter. Thus an alternate source of income is necessary and therefore migratory trading is likely to occur.

6. The groups in which individual landholdings are higher may be able to produce enough to sustain them through the winter, provided that they exploit all their lands. Migratory trading among households from these groups may be a matter of individual preference rather than strict necessity.⁸

Jarkot, Kagbeni, Tiri, Dangardzong & Phalak.

GRAPH OF LANDHOLDINGS

FOR

TRADING AND NON-TRADING HOUSEHOLDS

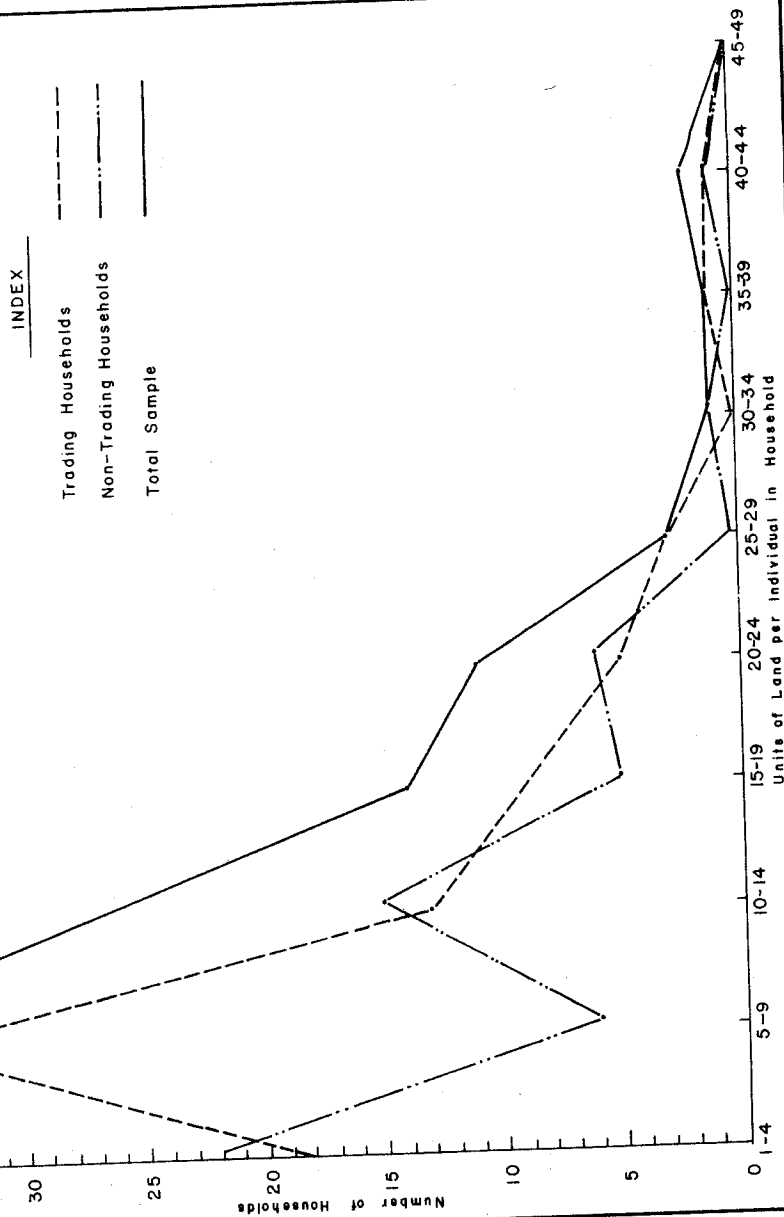


Fig. 2

(see Figure 3). When land units were calculated on the basis of the household rather than the individual, no significant pattern emerged. This suggests that the propensity for a household to engage in migratory trading is a function of the relationship between food-producing capacity and number of consumers. It seems that the total land resources of the household are not so relevant as the question of whether a household can grow enough food to feed all its members.

(see Figure 4). When traders as well as land-users are taken as individuals rather than as household members, the pattern seen in Figure 2 is visible, but less distinct. On this basis I would speculate that in the decision whether to engage in migratory trading, the family rather than the individual is the relevant economic unit. A household may choose to consolidate its economic resources and send only one individual to trade, or it may send more, or even migrate en masse. According to this data, it is not the number of individuals who migrate, but the factor of whether or not a household engages in migratory trade that is related to landholdings.

Additional Factors: Trading and Household Size

There are undoubtedly other important factors which play a part in determining whether or not a household is likely to engage in migratory trading. Family-type, for instance, may be relevant; that is, whether a family is based on monogamous or polygamous marriage, whether it is nuclear, extended, or consists of a single adult with or without children. Unfortunately my data is not yet complete enough to examine the relationship between family-type and migratory trade in a satisfactory way. I have, however, graphed the relationship between household size and migratory trading for the same five villages discussed above. (see Figure 5).

The patterns shown are these:

1. A larger household is more likely to engage in migratory trading than a smaller one. This is true of households of up to seven members.
2. A two-person household is more than twice as likely to engage in trade as a three-person household, and five times as likely as a one-person household.⁹ The latter may be a reflection of the relative poverty of the one-person household. This will be discussed later.
3. In considering individuals rather than households, the ratio of traders to non-traders is roughly the same for each household size, with a gradual increase in number of traders as household size increases. This will also be discussed further.

Jarkot, Kagbeni, Tiri, Dangardzong & Phalak.

GRAPH OF LANDHOLDINGS

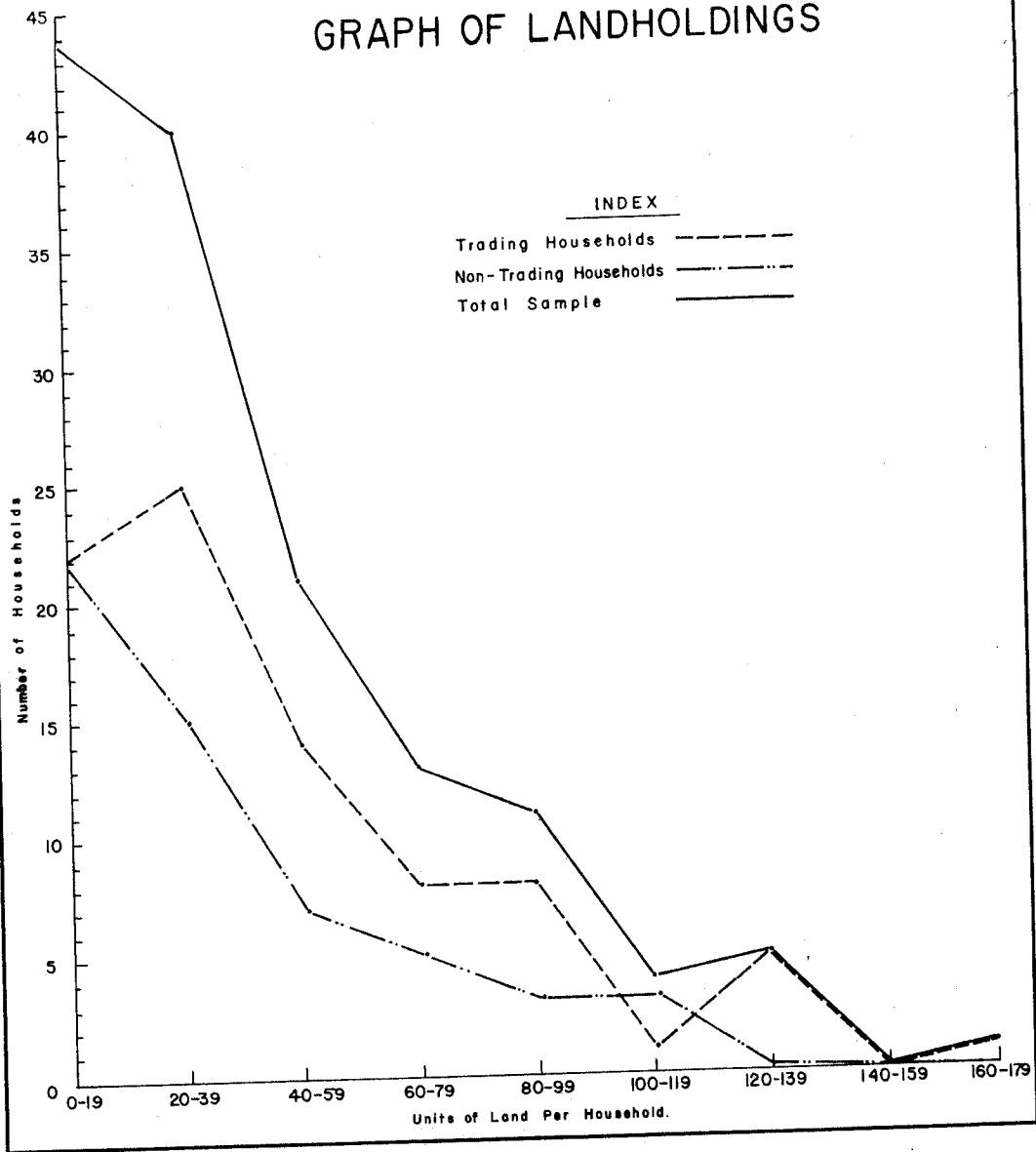


Fig. 3

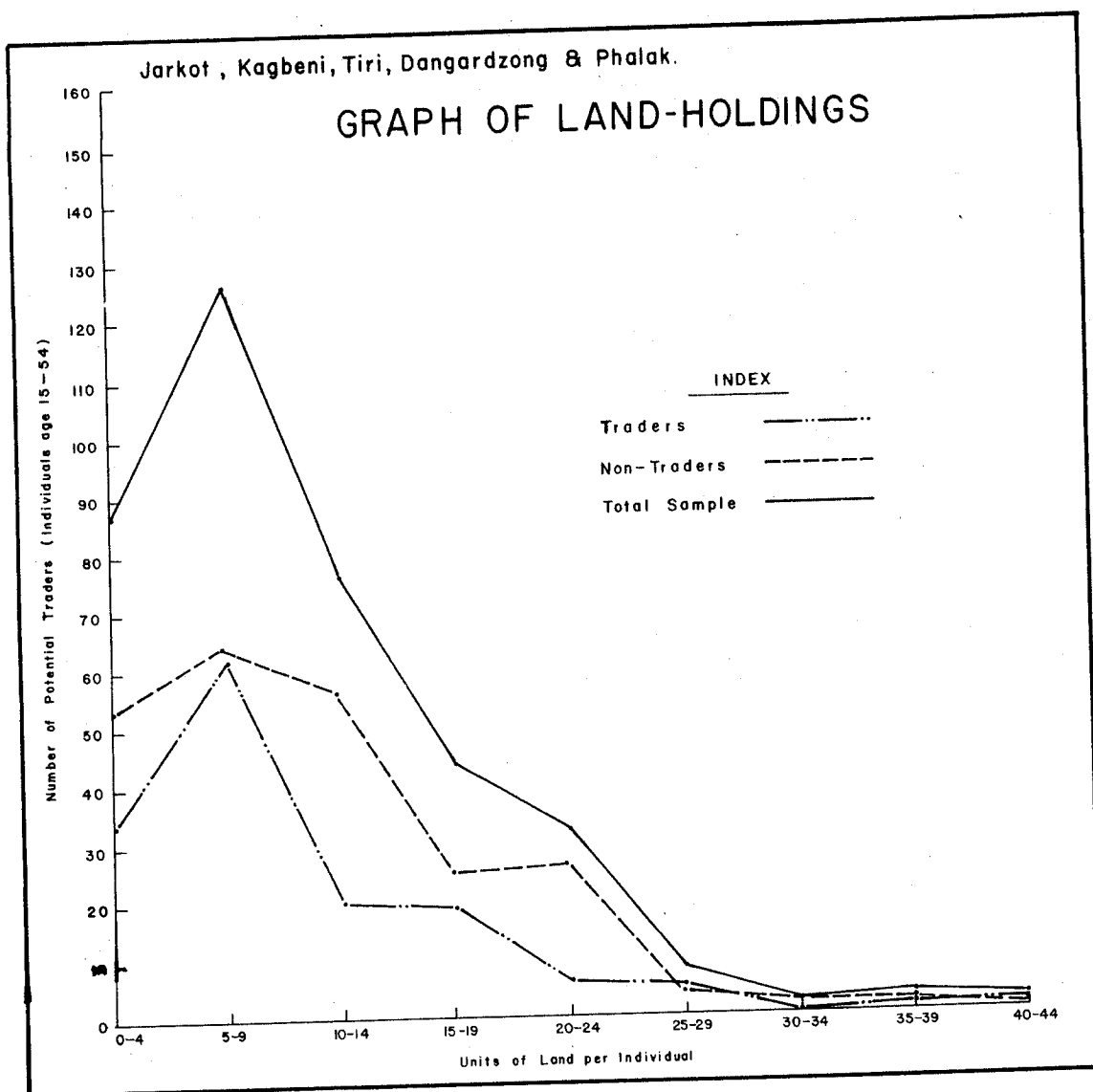


Fig. 4

Jarkot, Kagbeni, Tiri, Dangardzong & Phalak.
TRADING & HOUSEHOLD SIZE

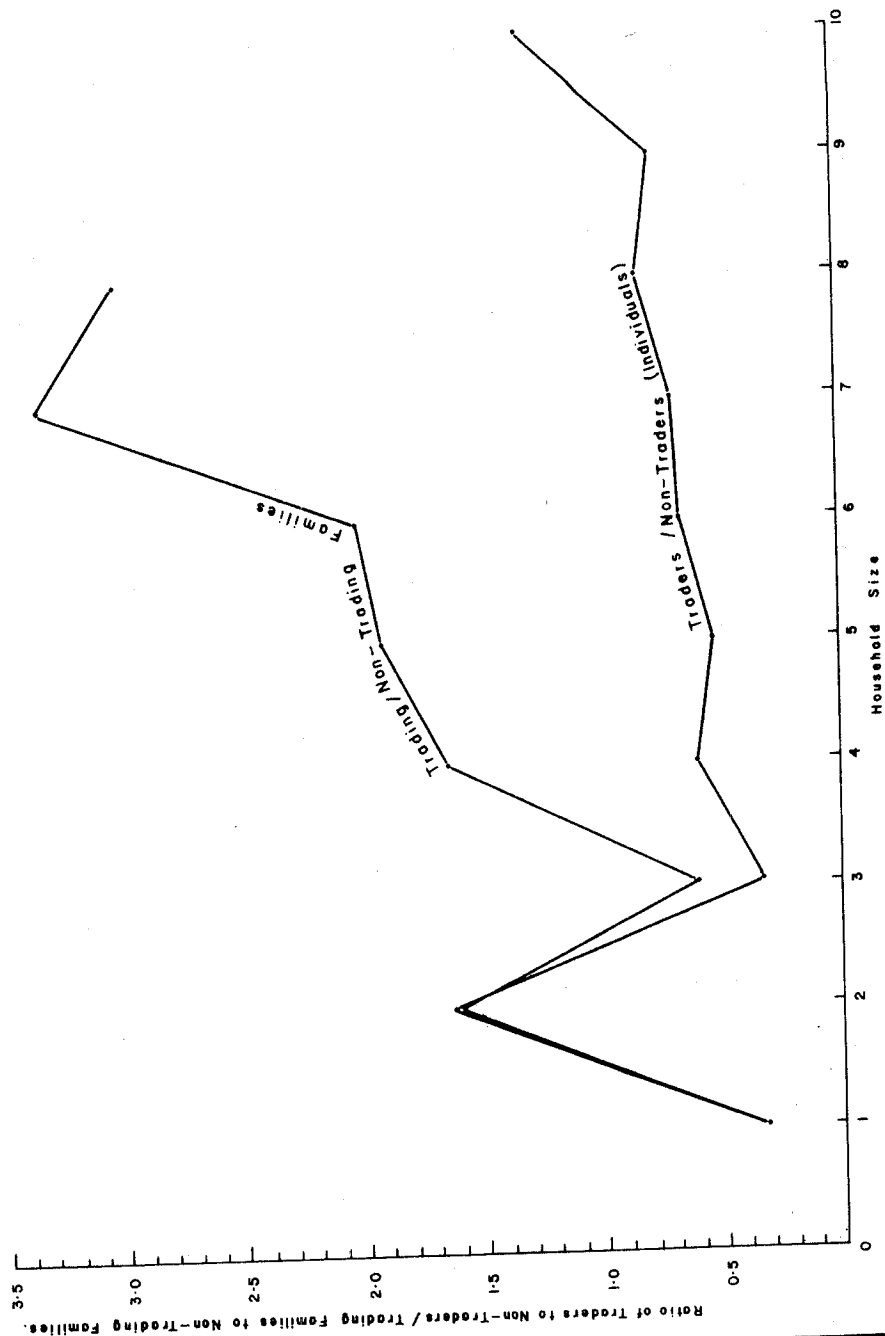


Fig. 5

4. I am unable to explain the sharp difference between the ratios for the two and the three-person households. It might be helpful to examine the relative compositions and the ages of the occupants of these households.

Wealth and Household Size

It seemed that the relationship between migratory trading and family size might be further clarified by examining the relationship between household size and wealth in land. (see Figure 6). The findings were that:

1. There seems to be no significant pattern in the distribution of landholding groups except for the following: that in the poorest group there is a relatively large number of one-person households.

2. The average household size, 4.8 persons, is only slightly larger than the household size which tends to have the largest amount of land per person - the four-person household.¹⁰

A single-person household often consists of an old person who has given his or her land away to children, or if childless, has had to sell land to maintain him/herself. There are also a number of landless nomads (drokpa) who have settled in the villages and who live alone. As was pointed out earlier, the ratio of traders to non-traders for the one-person households is low. It can be seen now that this group is relatively poor, at least in land, and so may not have access to the capital needed for trading.

Conclusion

A study of this sort is bound to be limited, since it isolates one or two elements from within a complex of interconnected phenomena. Graphs and figures have a tendency to create an illusion of uniformity that never exists in real life. For instance, there are interesting dissimilarities among the five villages in my sample, which are relevant to a study of trading.

For one thing, Kagbeni and Jarkot residents seem to have considerably more land, on the average, than the residents of the other three villages, yet they do as much, if not more trading. The villages of Phalak and Dangardzong provide another interesting case.

They are located very close together and their populations are roughly equal. The residents of Phalak own more land, on the average, than those of Dangardzong, but to all appearances (condition of houses, clothing, etc.) the people of Phalak are much poorer, and it is said that many of them are heavily in debt.

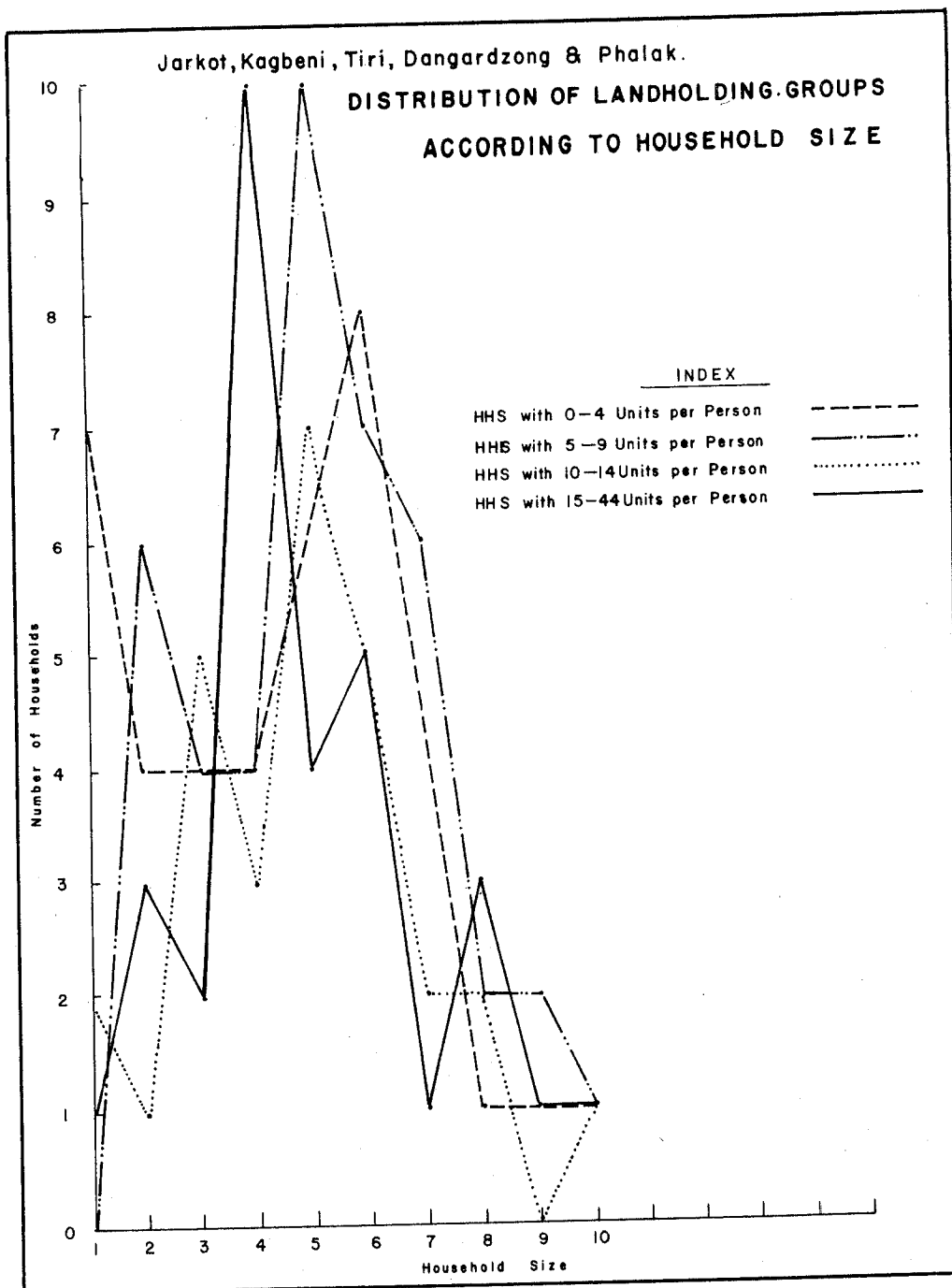


Fig. 6

One explanation is this: that the people of Dangardzong are successful traders, while those of Phalak, by comparison, do very little trading, and therefore have little opportunity to acquire enough money to pay off their debts, many of which are hereditary. This may in turn be related to the fact that the people of Phalak traditionally belonged to a low-ranking status group.

The subject of seasonal migration is of considerable relevance in a developing country, since it is generally desirable to prevent over-populating of cities. The factors that influence decisions to migrate, whether permanently or seasonally, are therefore of interest. While statistics provide a useful base for such a study, a deeper understanding can probably only come from an examination of the ways in which economic decisions are influenced by cultural factors.

Footnotes

1. For instance, von Furer-Haimendorf: Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon, pp. 140-160.
2. (See references in Note 1).
3. The difference can be explained by the fact that the number of girl and boy children taken along on migrations is roughly equal. Since the number of female traders is smaller than the number of male traders, the mean age of females who migrated is lowered by the inclusion of female children in the calculation.
4. I am assuming that land distribution is unequal enough that households at the wealthier extreme would be able to raise enough food if they chose to.
5. I am grateful to Mr. Prem Raj Gautam, the C.D.O. in Jomosom, and to the director and staff of the Survey Office for their assistance in supplying this information. I am also grateful to Mr. Gautam for the interesting discussions which helped me to formulate the ideas for this paper.
6. The "land-units per household" figure was derived by adding up the numbers of ropanis of each category held by each member in a given household. This was then multiplied by either 1, 2, 3 or 4, according to the relative value of each category of land. These numbers were totalled for each household. The "land-units per individual" figure was obtained by dividing the household units by the number of members in the household. This procedure was modified in one way: Since children consume less food than adults, and since the infant mortality rate is high, I added together the ages of children under 15 and counted 15 years as one land-using adult. Any fraction

was counted as an additional land-user. For example, if a household contained three children, ages 8, 7, and 5, the 8 and 7-year olds would together count as one land-user and the five-year old would count as a second rather than being excluded.

The taxation figures for the four land categories have, up to this time, not been used for taxation purposes in Bara-gaon, but the government plans to institute them in the near future. - (C.D.O., personal communication).

7. Since I am still in the midst of my field research, I did not have access to materials for precise and comprehensive statistical testing. I hope that these graphs will reveal general trends that can be used in structuring further data collection.
8. This last point in particular is only speculative. To prove it one would need to calculate the number of ropanis needed to sustain an average individual for a year. Another factor is that the agricultural season is short and intensive. Small families with relatively large numbers of fields require labourers from outside, who are in turn paid in grain. It is possible, then, that even the families with relatively large numbers of fields require an alternate source of income. This could take forms other than seasonal migratory trade, such as local trade in animals and money-lending.

One could go on to speculate that 1) if seasonal migratory trade ceased to exist, permanent migration might be necessary for a large number of people. 2) For the poorer group to exist without trading it is necessary that the wealthier group engage in trade. This may be the only means of creating a local surplus of food-producing fields, which can be worked by labourers who are in turn paid in grain.

9. I have excluded from this calculation households which do not contain at least one person in the "trading age-group."
10. This figure may be incidental, in that there is relatively little fluctuation in a person's landholdings by comparison to other forms of wealth (animals, money and tradegoods). Land is not ordinarily sold on a large scale, and its transfer occurs mainly by inheritance.

It is believed that undivided families (polyandrous), which tend to be large, are conducive to economic success. However, if this is true, the economic gains would be mainly in the form of cash and moveable property. The average landholding per person would not be likely to rise as a consequence of successfully maintaining a large family. On the other hand, a large number of children would mean less land per person.

the iconography of chiwong gomba

Kathryn S. March

This simple descriptive paper is offered in the interest of all the visitors - scholarly, local, or curious - to the old but still very active monastery of the southern Solu region, Chiwong Gomba.¹ Although primarily intended as a take-along guide to that most striking, but often least understood, feature of the monastery, its paintings, let me first frame this paper with a brief description of the monastery in its setting.

The Sherpa residents of Solu call this monastery Chiwong Tela (Upper Chiwong") to distinguish it from the village of Chiwong below. At 9685 ft., the monastery stands on top of a dramatic cliff overlooking a large part of the Bene and Solu river valleys. Bare rock and tall evergreen trees provide an effective setting. The main gomba sits over the sheerest part of the cliff where it commands a wide sweep of the countryside below. This gomba contains the gomba proper and a large paved courtyard that lies to the cliffside of the main gomba entrance. The gomba is itself an impressive structure: everywhere two full (and in places even three) storeys high. Most of the ground floor is occupied by the main altar room. Upstairs there are several other rooms: another altar room, the high lama's receiving room, and the Protector's room (generally not open to casual visitors, and never to women). Overlooking the courtyard is a balcony ornamented with 100 running-feet of religious paintings.

Most of the male recluses' residences are outside the main gomba building, which they face from a respectful distance to the right and to the rear. Substantial and attractive, but sadly vacant and falling into disrepair, these residences are clustered on the steep hillside and bordered by vegetable and flower gardens. From the front of the main gomba a wide trail winds down to the valley below. On the steep terrain its switchbacks form a series of distinct levels in the approach to the monastery. On the first level below the gomba are a few more male monastics' houses, the large main-wheel house with the house of its female monastic custodian, and the spacious but unused schoolhouse. From this level a gate and a set of stairs lead down to the next level. Here there is a large stone-walled pen for the monastic herd to the right of the trail and a small house built in the center of the trail to hold the molded clay tokens placed there to protect the health of the person for whom they were offered. Farther down the winding trail are the female monastics' houses, small wooden cabins clustered about the collapsing house of the monastery's founder. This means they are also near his private gomba, which, if not lavishly refurbished, has a new roof, is kept clean, and is where the female recluses primarily study and worship. Here

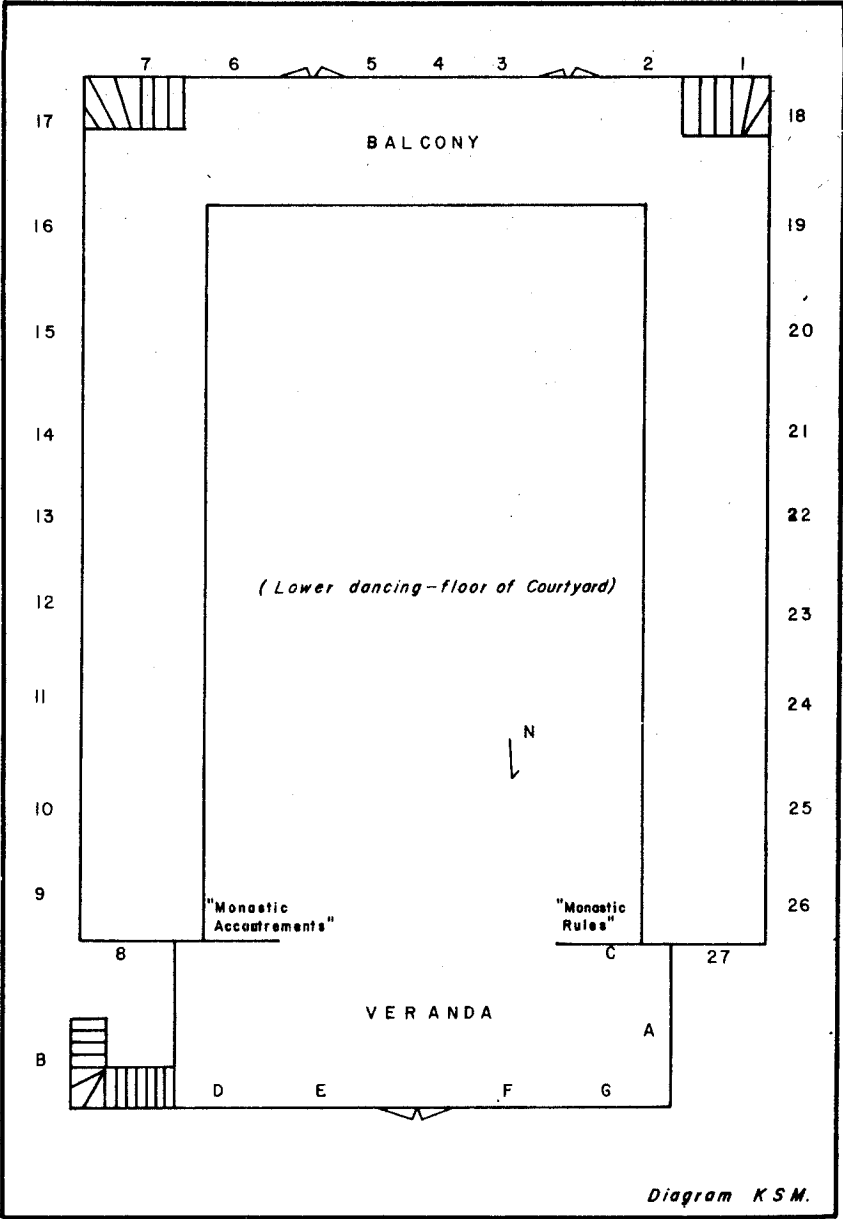
there is another large main-wheel. It is old and dilapidated, but can still be circumambulated, and it too serves the women's community. Near the main gate stands an old stone choten. Together they are the first glimpse one gets of the monastery when approaching it from the valley below. The monastic lands extend beyond the area described here. In fact, the lands given to the monastery are quite extensive. Besides providing the monastery with firewood and grazing lands, they contain other sites of great importance to the gomba, such as the spring on the slopes below where the Main-rimdu tormas are disposed of and, high on the rocks above, the cremation grounds.

The whole scene, from the stark white choten at the main gate, past the great gomba, to the prayer flags fluttering at the very top of the mountain, derives its order not from the laws of geometry but from the seep of the land, punctuated by the shifting mists. When the monks stand on the top of the gomba roof and sound their fifteen-foot brass and copper horns, the monastery has a romantic dignity that is at the same time removed from and yet attending to the Sherpa scene below.

The original work on the paintings was done in 1924 A.D. under the patronage of the monastery's founder and first sponsor, Sange Lama, of Phaplu's powerful lama clan segment. The paintings themselves were done by Kapa-s Omdze Nuri of Pikyongma (between Chiwong and Phaplu) and Pouri of Pangkarma (above Junbesi).

The paintings inside the main gomba is protected from the worst weather and, although darkened and worn somewhat by age, is still the work of those initial painters.³ Those on the walls of the veranda and balcony around the main courtyard must withstand weather changes directly. The severity and speed of such changes is exacerbated by constant air turbulence caused by the Chiwong cliff and by the tendency of the rough-plastered walls themselves to sweat beneath the paint's varnish. As a result, these paintings have had to be replaced three times. The first two repairs were both executed under the direction of one of the original painters, Kapa Pouri. The most recent restoration was done in 1974 by Kapa Pagyeldzin of Pangkarma who also did much of the painting at Thubten Chosling (the monastery above Junbesi) and is Solu's most highly respected living painter.

Repair work, besides restoring the beauty of the monastic paintings, is an important source of religious merit and social prestige for all involved, but especially for the main patron or sponsor. In 1974, it cost Tsering Tenzing Lama, also of Phaplu's ascendant lineage, 12,000 rupees to pay and feed the painters and assistants, and to keep them supplied with tea and paints over a period of several months. The finest work is that of the raised veranda at the entrance to the main gomba; it alone took six people two months to complete.

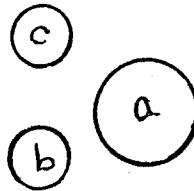


The monastic paintings are not, however, simply an exercise of skill on the part of highly trained painters or of power on that of the wealthy and prestigious patrons. The paintings themselves are not mere representations of divinities of the Solu Sherpa pantheon, but are, in fact, embodiments of those divinities. Their restoration is thus a rejuvenation and reaffirmation of the divine presence in the monastery. Before they can be effaced and once again after the new work has been completed, a mirror is held up in front of each painting as part of a ritual insuring that the divinities embodied therein will not depart from their representations.

The diagram presented here represents the courtyard of the monastery. Each of the paintings is numbered and will be identified in sequence below. Names are given as pronounced in contemporary Sherpa⁴ with parenthetical recognition of Tibetan names and transliteration⁵ where possible.

On the south wall of the upper balcony over the main entrance from the cliffside into the courtyard:

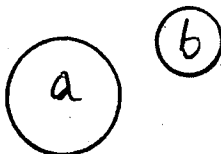
1. Three divinities:



- a. Yul lha: The territorial divinity of Numbur (22,825 ft), the western of the two primary peaks of the Womi Tso (Dudh Kund) Himal, visible from much of Solu, and worshipped in Kangsung to protect herds and household. Also called Tashi panjing by the Tschipsung Lama of Chalsa, yul lha actually being a whole class of divinities. Solu Sherpas, however, seldom refer to the number divinity any other way.
- b. Chhu tsing: The territorial divinity of the Womi Tso, the 'Milk Lake' at the base of the Himal above Solu, worshipped annually on the full moon of Sawan or (Janai Purnima). Mounted on a kLu, she is also called Jomo tungnung karmu.
- c. Jam-yang: Tibetan Buddhist god of knowledge with the flaming sword that cuts through ignorance. (Tib. 'jam-pahi dbyans).

2. Lhamu nurkyima.

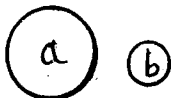
3. Tsong-go gwozin: A Gelugpa lama whose books are said to have been thrown out of his monastery by the Chinese only to have flown miraculously back to their original place to await the return of their master.
4. Sakya tubpa: The historical Buddha. (Tib. bc'om-ldan-'das).
5. Guru Rinpoche: The great saint of Tibetan Buddhists, also called Guru Padmasambhava 'lotus self-born', Lo-pon 'teacher', and Urgyen or Urgyen Rinpoche after the place of his birth.
6. Dzambala: Called the Buddhist Harica and portrayed always with a mouse.
7. Two divinities:



- a. Dala datak karwu: Local divinity portrayed mounted on a horse and worshipped primarily in the Sang, a ritual of purification performed preparatory to any major undertaking of religious significance including marriage and house-building.
- b. Dol-jang: Green Tara, one of the two forms of Dolma or Tara, associated with Chenrezig or Avalokita.

On east side Wall:

8. Sangye dorje chhang: Vajradhara, 'holder of the thunderbolt.' (Tib. rDorje chang).
- 9-16. The eight forms of Guru Tsenge: Padmasambhava's eight manifestations, painted in series with smaller figures in between, thus:



- 9.a. Guru Pemadzikne Hsilchoke variant of manifestation elsewhere. (Tib. pad-ma 'byun gnas)?
- b. Chenrezig: The great bodhisattva Avalokita. (Tib. spyen-ras-gzigs).

10. a. Guru Padmasambhava.
b. Dol-jang.
11. a. Guru Nyimawoser: 'sun-ray' (Tib. nyi-ma 'od-zer).
b. Chenrezig.
12. a. Guru Sakye: variant elsewhere called Sakye senge, (Tib. sakya seng-ge), 'lion of the Sakyas'.
b. Dorje sampa: Vajrasattva.
13. a. Guru Padmagelwu: 'lotus-king' (Tib. pad-ma rgyal-po).
b. Chaktur: Changma dorje or Vajrapani (Tib. p'yag-na rdor-je).
14. a. Guru Ludingchosing: 'thoughtful coveter of the best' (Tib. blo-ldan mchog-sred).
b. Chaktur.
15. Guru Senge Datuk: 'roaring lion' (Tib. seng-ge sgra-sgrogs).
16. Dorje Tulu: 'adamantine sagging belly'⁶ (Tib. rdor-je grod-lod).
17. Chaktur: Changma dorje or Vajrapani.

On west side Wall:

18. a. Tu-kar.
b. Lhamo Yangjomma: Goddess of wisdom (Tib. Yan^o c'an-ma).
19. Lhamo Yangjomma.
20. Chham-pa: The future Buddha, Maitreya. (Tib. Byams-pa).
21. Jam-yang.
22. Chham-pa.
23. Chenrezig.
24. Senge mela.

25. Mitukpa: Celestial Buddha of the east, Akshobhya.
(Tib. mi-skyod-pa).
26. Sangye Wopogme: Celestial Buddha of the west,
Amitabha. (Tib. 'od-pag-med).
27. Dorje Sempa: Vajrasattva.

Two front paintings to right and left of main veranda:

To left: "Monastic rules".

Above: Rules regarding acceptable places to sit, places to hang clothing, etc. Note that the very uppermost row pictures what should not be done, while the second row shows how it should be done.

Below: Rules regarding gomba construction and proper monastic housing.

Bottom and lower right side: Instructions on the right ways to sit to meditate, including how to keep from dozing (such as having an assistant equipped with a poker or pacing back and forth holding onto a meditation bar) and what to do for aching legs (such as the various positions for stretching the legs).

To right: "monastic accoutrements".

Instructions for the proper forms and kinds of meditation bars, water filtering devices, shoes, tea-cups and -strainers, clothing and blankets.

On the veranda at the entrance to the main gomba:

- A. Sipa kolo: The well-known representation of the 'wheel of life' showing, at the center, the three roots of evil and causes of rebirth, represented by pig, bird and snake; then six wedges showing the six possible realms of rebirth (from the top clockwise): that of the gods (Sherpa Lha-yul), of the titans (Sherpa Lha-ma-yin), of the spirits (Sherpa Thun-di-yul), hell (Sherpa Nye-li-tho-wa), of animals (Sherpa Lhaam), and of humans (Sherpa Mi-yul); ringed by illustrations of the twelve symbolic stages of life (Sherpa Ten-til-chhik-nyi).
- B. Timbu namshi: Illustration of cooperation showing a bird perched on a hare, sitting on a monkey, sitting on an elephant, each the respective incarnations of (top to bottom) Chomden, Shariphu, Mangal, and Kungawa, who figure in popular religious stories.

C. Mi-tse-ring: The 'long-life man' of one of the most popular acts in the annual Mani-rimdu festival, here represented with the five other forms of long-life: deer, water, bird, cliffs, and trees.

D-G. The fierce protectors of the four directions, collectively called the Gelcchen geshi (Tib. rgyal-c'en de-z'i) and, although in Tibetan each has a distinctive name, Sherpas commonly refer to them simply as:

D. Chang-gi gelwu: 'king of the north'

E. Shar-ki gelwu: 'king of the east'

F. Lho-i gelwu: 'king of the south'

G. Nup-ki gelwu: 'king of the west'.

Rather than belabor either the beauty of monastic painting or the inaccessibility of its meaning in simple terms for non-Tibetan scholars, this paper should end here-in the hopes that for some perhaps, this brief exposition has been informative without being confusing, and for others, at least, a shorthand reference to the organization of the divinities with whom they are already more familiar than I represented at one of Nepal's active monasteries.

Footnotes

1. Spelled Jiwong and described by Snellgrove (1957). He gives the literal transliteration as spyi-dbang and translates it as "universal consecration." Dbang may also be translated as 'power' or, loosely, 'power-bestowing blessing.'
2. Based on Tyssen House (Fritz Thyssen Stiftung) maps.
3. The paintings of the interior of the gomba have been described in detail by Snellgrove (1957). They will not be discussed further here.
4. Sincere thanks to the Gyeken of Chiwong Monastery, whose knowledge of the paintings he so patiently shared; any errors in the transmission of his knowledge are, of course, mine.
5. After Wadell (1939).
6. These eight translations from Snellgrove (1957).

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मध्यकालका शुरूका केही अभिलेख

- धनवज्र वज्राचार्य

यस निबन्धमा मध्यकालका शुरूका चार वटा अभिलेखहरू व्याख्यासहित दिइएका छन् । जन्ताले देवता स्थापना गरी, धारा पाटी-पीवा आदि बनाई राखिएका यी फाटफुट अभिलेखहरूले पनि तात्कालिक अवस्थामा के कति प्रकाश पार्दछन् भन्ने कुराको विवेचना अभिलेखको व्याख्याको प्रसङ्गमा तत् तत् ठाउँमा गरिएको छ । तात्कालिक नेपालको वस्तुस्थिति बुझ्न मद्दत गर्ने केही विषयको विवेचना भने प्रस्तावनाको रूपमा पहिले नै दिनु आवश्यक छ जस्तो मलाई लागेको छ । यही हुँदा पाठकको सुविधाको लागि केही त्यस्ता कुराको चर्चा यहाँ गरिन्छ ।

सनदपत्ररूपका शिलालेखको अभाव-

मध्यकालभन्दा अगाडिको युगका अर्थात् लिच्छविकालका दुई शय जति शिलालेख प्राप्त भइसकेका छन् । तिनमध्ये निकै अभिलेख सनदपत्र-रूपका छन् । लिच्छविकालका शासकहरूले बाँधेका स्थितिबन्धहरू तिनमा परेका छन् । त्यस बेलाका कति अभिलेख साहित्य, दर्शन आदि दृष्टिकोणले पनि उल्लेखनीय छन् । यही हुँदा लिच्छविकालका कुरा बुझ्न ती अभिलेखहरू ज्यादै उपयोगी रहेका छन् । तर यी अवस्था मध्यकालको शुरूमा रहेन । अब पहिले जस्ता उपयोगी शिलालेख प्राप्त हुन कोइयो । मध्यकालको शुरूमा मात्र होइन; लिच्छविकाल पछिल्ला केही शताब्दीमा पनि यी अवस्था रहेन । द्वितीय जयदेवको समयसम्म लिच्छविकाल गौरवपूर्ण रहेको थियो । स्वयं शासक नै विद्वान् तथा विद्याको कदर गर्ने रहेका हुँदा त्यस बेलासम्म विद्याको स्तह निकै उठेको थियो । यस कुराको स्पष्ट उदाहरण द्वितीय जयदेवको पशुपतिको शिलालेख नै रहेको छ । फेरि जयदेव एक असल कवि राजा मात्र थिएनन्; उनको राजनितिक महत्वाकाङ्क्षोद्देश्य पनि निकै ठूलो रहेको थियो । यस कुराको पुष्टि उनले लिएको 'परचक्रकाम' (अर्को मुलुक जित्न सौज्जे) भन्ने उपनामबाट हुन्छ । राज्यविस्तार गर्ने मनसुवा द्वितीय जयदेवको थियो भन्ने कुरा यस उपनामबाट थाहा पाइन्छ । यसरी यस बेलासम्म लिच्छवि राजाहरूको मनीबल पनि घटिसकेको थिएन; बरु उच्च नै थियो भन्ने संकेत पाइन्छ । तर जयदेवपछिको नेपालको इतिहास अकस्मात् कसरी अन्यकास्य हुन पुग्यो; त्यस बेलाका शासकहरूले जन्ताको हितका लागि स्थितिबन्ध बाँधी सनदपत्र-रूपका शिलालेखहरू किन राख्न लारनन्; त्यति उच्च स्तहमा पुगेको क्रियाकलाप एकदम कसरी सेलायो; यो प्रश्न इतिहासकारहरूको लागि ज्यादै गम्भीर समस्याको रूपमा अगाडि तिरिएको छ ।

यस बीच जन्ताले राख्न लारेका केही अभिलेख नपाइएका होइनन्^१ । तर ती पनि निकै कम छन् । पाइएका अभिलेखको स्तर पनि त्यति उठ्न सकेको छैन । यही अवस्था मध्यकालको शुरूसम्म अर्थात् नेपाल संवत्का शुरूका केही शताब्दीसम्म नै रह्यो ।

यस बेलाका आर्थिक अवस्था, सांस्कृतिक गतिविधि आदि कुराको अलि गहिरिएर अध्ययन मनन गर्‍यो भने यसबेला नेपालको पतनवाहि भएकी होइन भन्ने स्पष्ट रूपमा देखापरेको छ । भोटसँगको व्यापारसम्बन्ध, नेपालउपत्यकाका तीन प्रमुख शहर र आसपासका अरू साना शहरहरूको विकास; प्रशस्त संख्यामा ठूलठूला धातुका देवमूर्तिहरूको निर्माण^२ आदि कुराले त्यस बेलाको आर्थिक अवस्था राम्रो थियो भन्ने कुराको पुष्टि गर्दछ । शैव र बौद्ध दुवै सम्प्रदायमा यस ताका तन्त्रसिद्धान्तले प्रश्रय पाई जुन नयाँ नयाँ आयाम थपिए; त्यसैले गर्दा त्यस बेलाको समाजको गतिशीलतालाई औत्पारको छ । यस युगमा विद्याको दोत्रमा पनि त्यति अवनति

भएको थिएन; भौटमा समेत विद्याप्रसारमा नेपाली विद्वान्हरूले प्रशस्त मात्रामा सघाउ पुऱ्याएको उदाहरण पाइने हुनाले यहाँ त्यसवेला विद्वान्हरूको अभाव थिएन भन्ने सक्ति पाइन्छ । कलाको क्षेत्रमा पनि यस वेला प्रगति रोकिसकेको थिएन । नेपाली कलाकारहरूको शिल्पकलाबाट प्रभावित भई विदेशमा समेत नेपाली कलाकारहरूको माग बढेको युग पनि यसै ताकाको हो भन्न सकिन्छ । साथै यस वेलासम्म नेपालराज्य टुक्रिसकेको थिएन; नेपालमण्डल भित्र अनेक विषयहरू सम्मिलित थिए । यस ताका पनि केही प्रसिद्ध शासकहरू नभएका होइनन् । यसो हो तापनि मध्यकालका शुब्बा शासकहरूले राखेलाएको व्यवस्थाप्रधान सनद शिलापत्र एउटा पनि किन पाइएन; यो विचारणीय कुरा रहेको छ ।

यसमा अनेक कारण रहे होलान् । तर तिनमध्ये एउटा प्रमुख कारण अब व्यवस्थासम्बन्धी कुरा शिलालेखमा कुंदन नलाएर ताम्रपत्रमा कुंदाउन लाग्नु हो जस्तो मलाई लागेको छ । व्यवस्थासम्बन्धी कुरा ताम्रपत्रमा कुंदाउन लाग्ने चलन लिच्छविकालमा पनि चलिसकेको थियो । नरेन्द्रदेवको देउपाटन कसाईटोलको अभिलेखमा पाञ्चाली (पञ्चायत) सम्बन्धी व्यवस्था ताम्रपत्रमा लेखिएको कुराको उल्लेख परेको छ^५ । यो चलन लिच्छविकालको अन्त्यमा तथा मध्यकालको शुब्बा अफ बढी चलेको बुझिन्छ । यसरी अब शासकहरूले व्यवस्थासम्बन्धी कुरा शिलापत्रमा कुंदाउन छोडी ताम्रपत्रमा कुंदाउन थाले । मध्यकालको उत्तरार्धमा प्रचलित चलनतिर यसो दृष्टि दियो भने यस कुराको आभास हामी सजिलै पाउँछौं । यस वेला पनि स्थायी रूपमा रहोस् भनी चाहिएको कुरा ताम्रपत्रमा नै कुंदाइन्थ्यो । राजाहरूको परस्परमा भएका सन्धिहरू^६; जग्गासम्बन्धी कुराहरू, धार्मिक विधान वा गुठीसम्बन्धी कुरा र यस्तै चिरस्थायी गर्न चाहिएका याक्त् कुरा प्रायः ताम्रपत्रमै कुंदाइएको हामी पाउँछौं ।

व्यवस्थाहरू शिलापत्रमा कुंदाई राख्ने चलन यसको स्थायित्वले गर्दा नै चलेको हो । शिलापत्रहरूमा चिरस्थितये चास्य प्रसादस्य शिलापट्टकेन प्रसादःकृतः^७ भनी यस कुराको स्पष्ट उल्लेख गरिएको पनि पाइन्छ । शिलापत्रमा भन्दा ताम्रपत्रमा अफ बढी स्थायित्व रहेको छ । यसो हुनाले पछि त्यतातिर फुकाव बढ्यो । तर यसको परिणाम भने त्यति राम्रो निस्कैन । दुइटाको विशेष मूल्य नहुनाले शिलापत्रहरू त्यसै मासिएनन्; शिलापत्रमा कुंदाइएका कुरा कति साबुत रूपमा, कति अस्पष्ट र सण्डित अवस्थामा भए पनि अहिलेसम्म पनि पाइए । तर ताँवा केही मूल्यवान् हुनाले ताम्रपत्रहरू प्रायः गालिन्थे । ऐतिहासिक ज्ञानको महत्त्वको कमीले गर्दा यसो भएको हो । यसका अनेक उदाहरण पाइन्छन् । जस्ताका घसमा रहेका ताम्रपत्रको त कुरे काडी; प्रसिद्ध सार्वजनिक स्थलमा रहेका ताम्रपत्रहरू पनि गालिन्थे । प्रसिद्ध देवस्थलमा रहेका ताम्रपत्रहरूको समेत राम्ररी बचाउ हुन सकेको देखिदैन^८ । सात साल यता आएर ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीको महत्त्वको ज्ञान बढ्यो । तर यही ज्ञान नै प्रकारान्तरले हाम्रा ऐतिहासिक ताम्रपत्रहरूको लोपको कारण पनि बन्यो । ताम्रपत्र यताउता लान सजिलो हुँदा प्रशस्त मात्रामा विदेशिन थाले । मल्ल राजाहरूले स्थितिबन्धेज बाँधी राखेका अनेक ताम्रपत्रहरू लल्लिपुर-दरबार-भित्र पहिले थिए । अब एक दुइटा बाहेक अरू त्यहाँका महत्त्वपूर्ण ताम्रपत्रहरू हराइसके । यही दशाअन्त पनि रल्यो ।

यति कुरा गर्नुको तात्पर्य मध्यकालका पूर्वार्धका शासकहरूले राखेला सनद-शिलापत्रहरू नपाइए पनि त्यस वेलाका ताम्रपत्रहरू भने पाइने संभावना अफ निकै छ भन्ने हो^९ । त्यस्ता ताम्रपत्रहरूको सजीवतर्फ इतिहास-अन्वेषकहरूले विशेष ध्यान दिनुपरेको छ । यसो गर्न सके त्यस वेलाको अन्धकारपूर्ण युगमा प्रकाश पर्नेछ ।

द्वैराज्यशासनपद्धति (संयुक्त शासनपद्धति)-

मध्यकालको शुल्देसि अन्त्यसम्म अर्थात् विष्णुको दशौं शताब्दीदेसि उन्नाइसौं शताब्दीसम्म नेपालको इतिहासमा द्वैराज्यशासनपद्धतिले असर पारेको छ । यो अर्को विचारणीय कुरा रहेको छ । यस कारण यसबारे यहाँ संक्षेपमा मात्र भए पनि केही विवेचना गर्नुपरेको छ ।

प्राचीन कालदेसि प्रचलित अनेक किसिमका शासनपद्धतिमध्ये 'द्वैराज्य' शासनपद्धति पनि एक हो । 'एकराजतन्त्र' पद्धतिमा गद्दीको हकदार एक जना मात्र हुन्छ; शासनाधिकार एक जनानामा मात्र केन्द्रित रहन्छ । 'द्वैराज्य' पद्धतिमा गद्दीका हकदार दुइ वा दुइभन्दा बढी पनि हुन सक्छन् । अर्थात् एक किसिमको संयुक्तशासनपद्धति यो हो । द्वैराज्य पद्धतिमा बाबु कोराको संयुक्त शासन पनि चलन सक्दथ्यो; दाजु भाइहरूको संयुक्त शासन पनि चलन सक्दथ्यो । दुइ जनाको संयुक्त शासन चल्दा कहिलेकहीँ आधा आधा इलाका कुट्याइएको हुन्थ्यो तापनि राज्य दुइ टुक्रा पारिएको चाहिँ हुँदैनथ्यो । दुइ राज्यका रूपमा भिन्नाभिन्ने नामकरण हुँदैनथ्यो; राज्य एकै मानिन्थ्यो; शासन मात्र दुइ जनाको चल्दथ्यो । द्वैराज्य शासनमा प्रायः इलाका कुट्याउने काम पनि हुँदैनथ्यो; संयुक्त रूपमै दुइ वा दुइभन्दा बढी शासकहरू घोषित गरिन्थे ।

'द्वैराज्य' पद्धतिको केही राम्रो क्तीजा निस्कियो र केही नराम्रो क्तीजा निस्कियो हुनाले यस पद्धतिबारे पुराना शास्त्रकारहरूमा मतभेद रहेको छ । यसो हुनाले आचार्य कौटिल्यले यस विषयको विचार 'व्यसनाधिकरण'मा गर्दै गरेका छन् । द्वैराज्यपद्धतिमा प्रायः शासकवर्गमध्ये आफूआफूमे संधर्ष हुने हुनाले यसको नाश हुने गर्दछ; यसकारण वैराज्यभन्दा द्वैराज्यपद्धति सराव छ भन्ने भावको कुरा केही पूर्वाचार्यहरूले व्यक्त गरेका छन् । तर आचार्य कौटिल्यले 'वैराज्य' भन्दा त 'द्वैराज्य' पद्धति नै बरु असल हुन्छ; किनभने यसमा राज्य बाबु कोरा, दाजु भाइहरूको सामु हुने हुनाले अमात्यहरूले मनपरी गर्न पाउँदैनन् भन्ने भावको आशय व्यक्त गरेका छन्^{१०} । जे होस; व्यसनाधिकरणमा 'राजराज्ययोर्व्यसनचिन्ता' प्रकरणमा आएर यस विषयमा विचार गरिएको हुनाले द्वैराज्य शासन पद्धतिबाट राज्यमा व्यसन आइपर्न सक्छ; वैराज्य पद्धति भन्दा मात्र यो पद्धति केही असल हो भन्ने विचार कौटिल्यको पनि रहेको स्पष्ट छ ।

लिच्छविकालमा नेपालमा 'द्वैराज्य' पद्धति चल्को देखिएको छैन । लिच्छविकालमा उठान्ता कस्तो शासनव्यवस्था चल्को थियो भन्ने कुरा सामग्रीको अभावले गर्दा थाहा पाउन सकिएको छैन । तर जब केही प्रामाणिक इतिहास पढालाग्छ; त्यसवेला राजकुम वंशानुगत भएको हामी पाउँछौं । अर्थात् त्यसवेला प्रायः बाबुपछि कोरा गद्दीमा बस्ने 'एकराज' पद्धति नै कायम भएको देखिएको छ । बरु लिच्छवि राजा गद्दीमा रहे तापनि शासनाधिकार लिच्छविभन्दा भिन्न अर्को वंशका व्यक्तिको हातमा पुगेको उदाहरण भने लिच्छविकालमा पाइन्छ । साथै कुमशः शासनाधिकार हात लाउँदै गई लिच्छवि राजासँगै अरु गुप्त आदि संयुक्त राजा हुन पुगेको उदाहरण पनि लिच्छविकालमा पाइन्छ^{११} । तर लिच्छवि-राजवंशजहरूले मध्यमा बाबु कोरा वा दाजु भाइहरूको 'द्वैराज्य' रूपको संयुक्त शासन चल्को उदाहरण भने लिच्छविकालमा पाइएको छैन ।

मध्यकालको शुल्देसि भने नेपालमा 'द्वैराज्य' शासन बराबर कायम भएको हामी पाउँछौं । यस पद्धतिले पूरै मध्यकालको राजनीतिलाई प्रभावित पारेको देखापरेको छ । यस कुराको पुष्टि-को लागि उदाहरणका रूपमा तात्कालिक केही घटनालाई ओल्याउनुपरेको छ ।

ने.सं.११६ (वि.सं.१०५५)मा लेखिको 'अष्टसाहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमिता' भन्ने हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थबाट त्यस बेला राजा नरेन्द्रदेव र उदयदेवको संयुक्त शासन अर्थात् 'द्वैराज्य' चलिरहेको थियो भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । यी नरेन्द्रदेव र उदयदेवको के नाता पर्दथ्यो भन्ने दशरुिने प्रमाण पाउन सकिएको छैन । शायद यी दुइ दाजु भाइ हुन् । जे होस्; यी दुइको संयुक्त राज्य चलेको थियो भन्ने कुरा चाहिँ उपर्युक्त ग्रन्थमा उल्लिखित सम्बत् ११६ मार्गशिर शुक्लदिवापूणिमास्यां---महा-राजाधिराज परमेश्वरश्रीनरेन्द्रदेवमहाराजस्य श्रीउदयदेवयो महाराज्यो उभयराज्ये लिखितम् यस पुष्पिकावाक्यबाट थाहा पाइन्छ^{११} । यहाँ प्रयुक्त 'उभयराज्य' शब्दले 'द्वैराज्य'लाई नै लक्ष्य गरेको हो भन्ने कुरामा शङ्का छैन । मध्यकालको उत्तरार्धसम्म पनि दुइ जनाको संयुक्त राज्यलाई 'उभयराज्य' भनिन्थ्यो । यसै गरी उभयशब्दको अनुकृतिमा तीन जनाको संयुक्त शासनलाई 'त्रिभय'^{१३} चार जनाको संयुक्तशासनलाई 'चवभय'^{१४} पाँच जनाको संयुक्त शासनलाई 'पञ्चभय'^{१५} भन्ने शब्द-हरूको समेत प्रचलन भएथ्यो ।

यसको लागिपछि ने.सं.१२८ (वि.सं.१०६४)को अर्को हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थबाट त्यसबेला निर्मय-देव र रुद्रदेवको संयुक्त शासन चलिरहेको पाइन्छ । त्यस हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थमा^{१६} सो संयुक्त शासन-लाई स्पष्ट रूपमा 'द्विराज्य' शब्दद्वारा नै व्यक्त गरिएको छ । विचारार्थ त्यसको एक अंश यहाँ उद्धृत गर्नुपरेको छ -

अब्दे सते साष्टकविसयुते मासे शुभ फाल्गुणशुक्लमदो । ---
श्रीनिर्मयस्य नृपतेः सुरसन्निभस्य
श्रीरुद्रदेववसुधाधिपतिश्च रम्ये ।
एवं द्विराज्यकमतोद्यतपात्रवर्गे ---

यसको लागिपछि भोजदेव अगाडि देसापकृन् र रुद्रदेव र भोजदेवको 'द्वैराज्य' चल्दछ । पाटन गचाननीको ने.सं.१३२ (वि.सं.१०६६)को अभिलेखबाट रुद्रदेव र भोजदेव काका भतिजा हुन् भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । अमावास्यामा चन्द्र र सूर्य सँगै रहे जस्तै काका भतिजा सँगै रही शासन गरिरहेका छन् भन्ने वर्णन पनि सो अभिलेखमा परेको छ^{१७} ।

यसको केही कालपछि रुद्रदेव, भोजदेवको साथै लक्ष्मीकामदेव पनि यस संयुक्तशासनामा सम्मिलित हुन्छन् । यो कुरा ने.सं.१३५ (वि.सं.१०७१)मा लेखिको एक हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थबाट थाहा पाइन्छ^{१८} । त्यसको एक अंश यस प्रकारको छ -

पञ्चत्रिंशाधिकब्दे शततमप्रशते चैत्रमासे हिमामे
विलयातेस्मिन् दशम्यान्दितजरिपुगुरीवशिर संप्रसस्ते ।
राज्ञि श्रीभोजदेवप्यमितगुणगणालब्दश्रीरुद्रदेवे
श्रीलक्ष्मीकामदेवररिगजकुलेश्वरधराज्यपभुते ॥^१

यी केही उदाहरणबाट मध्यकालको शुरुतिर नेपालको शासनामा 'द्वैराज्य' पद्धतिले स्थान पारेको थियो भन्ने सिद्ध हुन्छ । यसरी संयुक्त शासन चलेको थियो तापनि प्रायः गरी यिनी-हस्ता अधिकार-विभाजन आदि भनै भएको हामी पाउँदौं । यसो हुँदा यिन्मा जो बाठा हुन्थे; तिनले अरूलाई अझै शासनाधिकार एकलीटी पार्ने चेष्टा गर्दथे । यसबाट परस्परमा कहिलेकहीँ संघर्ष पनि हुन्थ्यो । यसरी यो चलनले केन्द्रको शासनामा क्रमशः कमजोरी ल्याउन थाल्यो ।

यसको केही कालपछि द्वैराज्यपद्धतिमा देसापरेको संघर्ष टाल्ने अर्को नयाँ प्रयोग भएको

हामी पाउँछौं । त्यसवेला (विष्णुकी बाह्रौं शताब्दीको उत्तरार्धमा) केन्द्रको शासन एकचोटि फेरि केही मजबूत भयो । शिवदेव जस्ता योग्य शासक त्यसवेला पैदा भए । उनले आर्थिक उन्न-
तितिर पनि दृष्टि दिए; विद्वान्हरूलाई पनि प्रश्रय दिए; साथै शासनव्यवस्थामा सुधार गर्ने
चेष्टा पनि गरेको बुझिन्छ । दाजु भाइहरूको संयुक्तशासन सडा गर्नु सट्टा दाजु पछि भाइ नै
विधिवत् उत्तराधिकारीका रूपमा गद्दीमा बस्ने प्रथा त्यसवेला प्रचलनमा ल्याइयो । त्यसअनुसार
आनन्ददेव, रुद्रदेव, अमृतदेवहरूले क्रमशः शासन गरे । यी प्रथा धेरैकालसम्म प्रचलनमा आउन
नपाउँदै अर्को राजवंश शक्तिमा आयो । त्यो हो मल्लवंश । यस वंशका अरिमल्ल, अभयमल्ल-
हरूले बाबूपछि छोरा गद्दीमा बस्ने क्रम नै चलाए । तर यसको लागि पछि पुरानी 'देव' कहलाएको
राजवंश र मल्लराजवंशमध्ये एकान्तर रूपमा गद्दीमा बस्ने विचित्र शासनपद्धति अस्तित्वमा आयो ।
यस पद्धतिअनुसार एक राजवंशका व्यक्ति गद्दीमा बसेका छन् भने अर्को राजवंशका व्यक्ति युवराज
घोषित गरिन्थे । जस्तै जयभीमदेव राजा गद्दीमा बसेको बेला उनका छोरा युवराज घोषित
गरिन्छन्; अर्को वंशका युवराज बनाइए । राजा अनन्तमल्ल गद्दीमा बस्दा उनका छोरा अरि-
मल्ल युवराज भएन्न्; जयभीमदेवका छोरा ज्यादित्यदेव युवराज घोषित गरिए । दुई राजवंशमा
एकान्तर रूपमा गद्दीमा बस्ने यस पद्धतिले त पछि केन्द्रमा सुला संघर्षलाई नै निम्त्यायो ।
यसमा बाहिरका ससराज्य र तिरहुतराज्यले समेत हस्तक्षेप गर्न थालेपछि केही काल केन्द्रको
शासन एकदम कमजोर बन्यो^{१६} ।

यस बीच स्थितिमल्लको उदय भएपछि नयाँ मोड आयो; दुई राजकुलको सिचातानीको
राजनीतिको अन्त्य भयो । तर 'राजलदेवीका पति'का हिसाबले स्थितिमल्लको उदय भएको
हुनाले नयाँ ढङ्गको शासनपद्धति सडा गर्न स्थितिमल्ल समर्थ भएन्न् । उनीपछि 'द्वैराज्य' अर्थात्
संयुक्त शासन-पद्धति नै फेरि स्पष्ट रूपमा अस्तित्वमा आयो । उनीपछि उनका धर्मल्ल,
ज्योतिर्मल्ल, कीर्तिमल्ल तीनै छोराहरू राजा घोषित गरिए^{१७} । पछि बाठा ज्योतिर्मल्लले
एकलौटी शासन कायम गरे । ज्योतिर्मल्लपछि उनका दुई छोरा यदामल्ल र जीवमल्लको संयुक्त
शासन सडा भयो^{१८} । यी द्वैराज्य आमा संसारदेवी जीवित छुन्जेल चल्थो । त्यसपछि यदा-
मल्लले एकलौटी पारे । यदामल्लपछि उनका छोराहरूको संयुक्त शासन चल्थो । यहाँनिर
अलिखित विशिष्टता देखापरे । यदामल्लले छोरीका छोराहरूलाई पनि आफूना छोरासरह
स्थान दिलाउने व्यवस्था गरेका हुनाले दोह्रौं भूमिमल्ल पनि रायमल्ल रत्नमल्लहरू सरह संयुक्त
शासक घोषित गरिए^{१९} । तर संयुक्त शासनले सन्तुष्ट नभई आफूनी आफूनी बेग्लै स्वतन्त्र
राज्य सडा गर्ने दाउपेच रत्नमल्लहरूले खेलेका हुनाले त्यसवेला भक्तपुर, कान्तिपुर, लल्लिपुर
तीन स्वतन्त्र राज्यका रूपमा देखापरे^{२०} ।

यी तीन राज्य सडा भएपछि यी तीनै राज्यमा पनि संयुक्त शासन पद्धति कायम भएको
हामी पाउँछौं । यसले मल्ल राजपरिवारमा संघर्ष पनि निक्के गरायो । भक्तपुरराज्यलाई
प्रणमल्लले अत्यापछि उनका काका वीरमल्ल, दाजु जितमल्लहरूले जुन विरोधी दल सडा गरे
तथा न.सं. ६६८ को पशुपतिको प्रसिद्ध सन्धि गरे; त्यसले गर्दा लल्लिपुर, दोलखा आदि धेरै
प्रदेश मल्ल राजाहरूको आधिपत्यबाट मुक्त भई स्वतन्त्र बने^{२१} । यस प्रसङ्गमा एउटा कुरा
उल्लेखनीय रहेको छ । मल्ल राजाहरूको संयुक्त शासनबाट भएको संघर्षबाट लाभ उठाई दोलखा,
लल्लिपुर आदि स्वतन्त्र भए । तर दोलखा, लल्लिपुर आदिका शासकहरूले यस कुराबाट शिक्का
मैने लिइन्न् । उनीहरूले पनि संयुक्त शासनलाई नै रोजे । दोलखामा इन्द्रसिंहदेव आदि पाँच
जना दाजु भाइहरूको संयुक्त शासन सडा भयो । पछि त दोलखामा काका, भतिजा, भान्ज
आदि सात जनासम्मको संयुक्त शासन चल्थो^{२२} । तर यसले दोलखाको शासनमा कमजोरी ल्या-
यो । यसै गरी महापात्र विष्णुसिंहले कति कष्ट गरी लल्लिपुरमा आफूनी एकलौटी शासन

सडा गरेथे । तर उनीपछि उनका तीन जना छोराहरूको संयुक्त शासन ललितपुरमा सडा भयो । यी तीन दाजु भाइहरूमा विशेष गरि पुरन्दरसिंह र उद्धवसिंहमा संघर्ष भयो । जसले गर्दा ललितपुरलाई कमजोर तुल्यायो^{२६} । मल्ल राजाहरूले यस संघर्षलाई रोकन प्रयास नगरेका होइनन्; तर निकै अधिदेसि जरो गाडेर रहेको 'द्वैराज्य' अर्थात् संयुक्त शासन पद्धतिको भावनाले जकडिरहेको हुनाले मल्लकालको अन्तिम समयसम्म पनि यस पद्धतिलाई त्याग्ने विचारधारा प्रबल हुन सकिन । कान्तिपुरका अन्तिम मल्ल राजा जयप्रकाशमल्ललाई कमजोर बनाउने तत्कालीन उनका भाइहरूको संयुक्त शासन कायम गर्ने प्रयास पनि एक थियो । मल्ल राजाहरूलाई मात्र होइन; श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहलाई समेत यस पद्धतिले पीडा गर्न छोडको थिएन । कान्तिपुर विजयपछि पृथ्वीनारायण शाहका भाइहरूले संयुक्त शासन सडा गर्ने जुन इच्छा व्यक्त गरेथे; त्यसमा उही पुरानी द्वैराज्यपद्धतिको भावनाले काम गरेको देखिन्छ । तर दूरदर्शी पृथ्वीनारायणशाहले यो कुरा मन्जुर नगर्दा उनका चारै भाइहरू विद्रोही बने^{२७} । यस अवस्थालाई सम्हाल्न पृथ्वीनारायण शाहलाई निकै अप्ठ्यारो पर्यो । पछि दोलखा भेकको अम्बल भाइ दलजित्तुलाई सुम्पेको घटनाले पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले समेत यस पद्धतिलाई सर्वात्मिकता तोड्न सकेनन् भन्ने दशरथको क^{२८} । जे होस; पछि पृथ्वीनारायण शाह यस पद्धतिलाई तोड्न सफल भए ।

माथि उल्लिखित संक्षिप्त वर्णनबाट पूरै मध्यकाललाई 'द्वैराज्य' शासन पद्धतिले प्रभावित पारेको स्पष्ट थाहा पाइन्छ । द्वैराज्य पद्धतिले त्यस ताका यसरी जरो गाडेर रहनामा त्यस बेलाको सामाजिक धारणा पनि प्रमुख कारण बनेको देखिन्छ । देवमन्दिर, गुठी आदिको सञ्चालन र अरु धेरै सामाजिक क्रियाकलापहरू त्यस ताका मिलेर संयुक्त रूपमा चलाउने परम्परा कायम भएको थियो । यसो हुँदा राजाद्वीमा बस्ने कुरामा समेत 'द्वैराज्य' पद्धतिले प्रश्रय पायो; 'एकराज' पद्धति त्यति प्रबल हुन सकिन । आचार्य कौटिल्यले भने जस्तै साम्प्रदायिक भावना हुँदा कहिले-कहीं यस पद्धतिले केही राम्रो कृतीजा पनि निकाल्यो तापनि प्रायः दाजु भाइहरूमा संघर्षको वातावरण नै यस पद्धतिले बढी सडा ग-यो र मध्यकालको राजनैतिक अवस्थालाई कमजोर तुल्यायो । यसो भए तापनि कयौं शताब्दीसम्म यस शासनपद्धतिले जरो गाडेर रहेको देखिन्छ । यो पद्धति गुणापदाबारे पनि सोजी गई जानुपरेको देखिन्छ । यो पद्धति मल्लराजाहरूमा मात्र होइन; पश्चिमका सप्त राजाहरूमा र सेन आदि मध्यकालका अरु राजाहरूमा पनि केही अंशमा देखापरेको क^{२९} । तर बुद्धि पु-याएर दूरदर्शी राजनीतिज्ञ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले भने यस पद्धतिलाई तोडेर मध्यकालको राजनीतिलाई नयाँ मोड दिए ।

नेपालमण्डल -

मध्यकालको शुरुदेखि नै नेपालराज्य काठमाडौँ-उपत्यका र आसपासका क्षेत्रमा मात्र सीमित थियो भन्ने पूर्वधारणा नेपालको इतिहासमा काम गर्ने कतिपय स्वदेशी तथा विदेशी विद्वानहरूले रहेको पाइन्छ । यसले गर्दा मध्यकालको इतिहासमा अनुसन्धान गर्ने विद्वानहरूले काठमाडौँ-उपत्यका बाहिर गई अनुसन्धान गर्नुपर्ने महसूस त्यति नगरेको बुझिन्छ । तर मध्यकालको शुरुका केही शताब्दीसम्म यो राज्य काठमाडौँ-उपत्यका र आसपासका क्षेत्रमा मात्र सीमित थिएन; 'नेपालमण्डल' अन्तर्गत अनेक विषय (जिल्ला)हरू थिए । तात्कालिक अभिलेख, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ आदि सामग्रीबाट उक्त कुरा स्पष्ट रूपमा थाहा पाइन्छ । यस कारण तात्कालिक नेपाललाई चिन्न मद्दत गर्ने हुनाले यस विषयमा पनि यहाँ संक्षिप्त रूपमा भए पनि केही विवेचना गर्नुपर्ने क^{३०} ।

त्यस ताका केन्द्रबाट सीमा शासन गरिने प्रदेश र सामन्तद्वारा शासन गरिने प्रदेश गरी नेपाल राज्य मुख्य रूपमा दुई भागमा विभक्त थियो^{३०} । 'नेपालमण्डल' शब्दले उक्त दुवै भाग-

लाई बुझाउथ्यो । आजकाल प्रचलित 'राष्ट्र' शब्दको पर्यायीको रूपमा त्यसवेला 'मण्डल' शब्द प्रचलित थियो । 'नेपालमण्डल' शब्दको प्रयोग लिच्छविकाली महसकेको थियो^{३१} तापनि मध्य-कालमा यो शब्द अझ बढ्ता प्रचलित रल्यो । मध्यकालमा केन्द्रमा सैनिक शक्तिको कमी रहेको हुँदा सामन्तद्वारा शासन गरिएका प्रदेशको महत्त्व पहिलेभन्दा बढी रल्यो । यस कारण नेपाल-मण्डल भनि प्रभाव कायम रहनु मध्यकालका शासकहरूको दृष्टिमा गौरवको कुरा रहेको थियो । अर्को कुरा नेपालमण्डल शब्दको प्रयोग राजधानीका बासिन्दामन्दा बाहिरका प्रदेशका बासिन्दाहरू बढी गर्दथे । उनीहरूले आफूनी परिचय दिनुपर्दा नेपालमण्डली चर्चा पहिले गरी अनि आफूनी विषय (जिल्ला)को चर्चा गर्दथे ।

प्रशासन चलाउन सुविधा होस् भनी राज्यलाई अनेक 'विषय'मा विभक्त गर्ने चलन प्राचीन कालदेखि थियो । यस्ता विषयको प्रशासन चलाउन 'विषयपति' नियुक्त गरिन्थे^{३२} । मध्यकालको शुरू शुरूसम्म नेपालमण्डलभित्र अनेक विषयहरू कायम थिए । त्यहाँ विषयपतिहरू पनि रहथे । तर तिनको रूप भनि निकै बदलिँसकेको थियो । अब विषयपतिहरू प्रायः गरी पुस्तीनी अधिकार पारका महासामन्तरूपका हुन थालेथे । यसरी अधिका 'विषय' (जिल्ला)हरू क्रमशः सामन्तराज्यका रूपमा परिणत हुँदै थिए^{३३} । पाठकहरूलाई यस विषयमा विचार गर्न सजिलो होस् भनी तात्कालिक अभिलेख, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ आदि ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीहरूमा देखापरिका त्यस्ता 'विषय'हरूको बारेमा यहाँ केही विचार गर्नु परेको छ ।

गण्डीगुल्मविषय -- सर्वप्रथम यसको उल्लेख ने.सं.११६ (वि.सं.१०५५)को एक हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थमा आएको छ^{३४} । गण्डीगुल्ममा बस्ने सुवर्णकार (सुनारको काम गर्ने) राना (मगर)ले सारको उक्त ग्रन्थमा 'श्रीगण्डीगुल्मकनिवासिन सुवर्णकार श्रीराणाकस्य---' भन्ने उल्लेख परेको छ । नरेन्द्रदेव र उदयदेवको द्वैराज्यकालमा सो लेखिएको हो भन्ने पनि त्यसमा चर्चा परेको छ । यसमा 'गण्डीगुल्म'लाई 'विषय' भनिएको छैन । तर यसभन्दा अलिपछिको ने.सं.१२१३ को राजा हर्षदेवको राज्यकालमा लेखिएको अर्को हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थमा 'श्रीगण्डीगुल्मविषय' कुलपत्रकायस्थ श्रीजीवधरसिंहस्य पुस्तकम् भनी स्पष्ट रूपमा गण्डीगुल्मलाई 'विषय' भनिएको छ^{३५} । यसभन्दा अलिपछि लेखिएको अर्को हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थबाट यस भेकमा कुनै बौद्धविहार पनि थियो भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ^{३६} । यहाँ लेखिएका उक्त तीनै हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ 'अष्टसाहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमिता' हुनाले पनि यस ताका यस भेकमा बौद्धधर्म फैलिएको सक्ति पाइन्छ । उक्त तीन ग्रन्थमध्ये दुइटो भोटको शक्यामत्मा पुगेको हुनाले भोटसँग पनि यस प्रदेशको सम्बन्ध रहेको सक्ति पाइन्छ ।

श्रीलशियानी भेटकले 'गण्डीगुल्म' लल्लिपुर भेकमा को पर्दथ्यो होला भन्ने अनुमान गर्नु भएको छ^{३७} । यसरी यस विषयमा बढी सोजसबर गर्नुपर्ने त्यतिको आवश्यकता ठानिँन । तर गण्डीगुल्म लल्लिपुरभेकमा भएको भए यसप्रदेशलाई 'विषय' (जिल्ला) भन्नुपर्ने आवश्यकता थिएन । यो विचारणीय कुरा छ । लल्लिपुरभेकमा लेखिएका कुनै ग्रन्थमा पनि 'विषय'को उल्लेख आएको छैन । यसकारण 'गण्डीगुल्म' लल्लिपुरभेकमा होइन; उपत्यकाबाहिर पश्चिम वा पूर्वपट्टि रहेको 'विषय' (जिल्ला) यो हो भनी सहजै अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ ।

'गण्डकी' नदीलाई 'गण्डी' मात्र भन्ने चलन पनि थियो । वास्तवमा मूल शब्द त 'गण्डी' नै हो । त्यसलाई संस्कृतीकरण गरिएपछि मात्र 'गण्डकी' शब्द बनेको हो । यस कारण गण्डीगुल्म विषय गण्डकी नदीकै नजीकै रहेको प्रदेश होला भनी अनुमान गर्न गाह्रो छैन । पहिले यस भेकमा कुनै मजबूत गुल्म (सुरक्षा चीकी) रहेको थियो; त्यही विकसित भएपछि 'विषय'को रूपमा परिवर्तित भएको देखिन्छ । यस आधारमा विचार गर्दा गण्डीगुल्म विषयको संफना वर्तमान 'गुल्मी'भेकले दिलाइरहेको छ भन्ने मलाई लाग्छ । यस कुराको प्रकारान्तरले

केही पुष्टि यसै ताका लेखिको हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थमा 'लुजुङ्गु' प्रदेशको उल्लेख पाइनाले हुन्छ । ने.सं. १८६ मा राजा शङ्करदेवको पालामा लुजुङ्गु मा बस्ने गङ्गा राना(मगर)ले सो ग्रन्थ सारिको हो^{३८} । 'गु' यो डाँडोलाई बुझाउने शब्द हुनाले 'लुजुङ्गु' वर्तमान लुजुङ्गोभन्दा नै हो भन्ने कुरामा शङ्का छैन । मोटसँगको व्यापारसम्बन्धले गर्दा कालिण्डकीका आसपासका हिमालयभेदेसि पाल्पामेकसम्मकै प्रदेशमा अनेक बस्ती यस ताका निकै विकसित भएथे ।

जबसम्म पश्चिम कर्नालीप्रदेशमा खसराज्यको स्थापना भएको थिएन तथा यस राज्यले गण्डकीप्रदेशमा समेत आफ्नो प्रभाव फैलाएको थिएन; त्यस बेलासम्म केन्द्रका (नेपाल उपत्यकाका) शासकहरूको आधिपत्य यस भेकमा कायम थियो । यस प्रसङ्गमा यो पनि विचारणीय छ ।

जिग्लीदुमविषय -- ने.सं. १२४ को एक अभिलेखमा जिग्लीदुम विषयको उल्लेख आएको छ^{३९} । त्यस अभिलेखमा राजा उदयदेवले नेपालमण्डलमा राज्य गरिरहेको बेलामा जिग्लीदुम विषयका एकजना ब्रह्मालुले विष्णुलाई कोश चढाएको कुरा परेको छ । त्यहाँ जिग्लीदुम विषयको वर्णन गर्दा 'श्रीजिग्लीदुमविषय विद्वत्साधुजनान्विते' भनी लेखिको हुनाले सो विषय (जिल्ला) विकसित बस्ती थियो; त्यहाँ विद्वान्हरूको बसोबास थियो भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । साथै गरुडध्वज विष्णुलाई चढाइएको सो 'कोश' निकै कलात्मक हुनाले^{४०} त्यस प्रदेशमा धातुका मूर्ति ढाल्न जान्ने कलाकारहरू पनि थिए भन्ने सक्ति पाइन्छ । यो जिग्लीदुम विषय कता पर्दथ्यो भन्ने निश्चित गर्न सकिने छैन । तर उक्त अभिलेखबाट सो प्रदेशमा वैष्णव धर्मको प्रसारको सक्ति पाइने हुनाले सो प्रदेश पनि कालिण्डकीकै किनारमा कतै हुँदो हो भन्ने मलाई लाग्छ । वास्तवमा कालिण्डकीको प्रस्त्रवणदोत्र एक प्रकारले 'वैष्णव दोत्र' जस्तै बनेथ्यो । माथि शिर मुचिन्नाथदेसि रिडीभेकसम्म त अनेक वैष्णव तीर्थ-स्थान, मन्दिर आदि हामी पाउँछौं । सप्तगण्डकी पछि देउघाटदेसि 'नारायणी' नामले परिवर्तित हुनामा समेत वैष्णव सम्प्रदायको प्रसार प्रचार कारण बनेको थियो । यो कुरा यस प्रसङ्गमा विचारणीय छ ।

पन्नगविषय -- पश्चिमतिरको एक अर्को 'विषय'को उल्लेख पनि तात्कालिक हस्त-लिखित ग्रन्थमा पाइन्छ; त्यो हो पन्नगविषय । ने.सं. २७० मा लेखिको एक हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थमा 'श्रीपन्नगविषयाधिपति श्रीमहासामन्तहंसदेवस्य विजयराज्ये यूपटोलकाधिवासी शिरो-श्रीकुलपुत्रस्य फुलणनायकस्य' भन्ने उल्लेख परेको छ^{४१} । 'पन्नगविषय' ठिमीनिरको नकदेश हुन सक्छ भन्ने आशय श्रीडिल्लीस्मरण रेग्मीले व्यक्त गर्नुभएको छ^{४२} । तर यस ताका उपत्यका-भित्रका कुनै पनि बस्तीलाई 'विषय' (जिल्ला) भन्नको नपाइने हुनाले पन्नगविषय नकदेश होइन भनी सहजै भन्न सकिन्छ । अर्को कुरा यस बेला राजधानी भक्तपुरमा बसी शक्तिशाली शासक आनन्ददेव शासन गर्दै थिए । राजधानी भक्तपुरको नजीकैको प्रदेश नकदेशमा विषयाधि-पति महासामन्तको पृथक् अस्तित्व कायम हुनु कुनै हालतमा पनि सम्भव थिएन । यस कारण किटानसाथ भन्न नसकिने तापनि यो विषय पनि पश्चिमतिरकै हो भनी अनुमान गर्न आधार नभएको होइन । 'पन्नग' शब्द 'नाग' शब्दको पर्यायवाची हो । पश्चिमपट्टि नागडाँडो आदि नागलाई लक्ष्य गर्ने अनेक स्थान छन् । पश्चिमका मगरहरूमा नागपूजाको प्रचलन पनि बढी रहेको सुनिन्छ । सेनवंशावलीमा सेन राजाले मगरात भेकमा आफ्नो प्रभाव फैलाउन नागहरूलाई जित्नेको वर्णन छ^{४३} । यस आधारमा विचार गर्दा 'पन्नगविषय' मगरातभेकमा रहेको अनुमान हुन्छ । जे होस; विष्णुको तेड्रो शताब्दीको शुरुतिर 'पन्नग' नामक विषय कायम थियो; त्यहाँ महासामन्तरूपका विषयपतिको प्रशासन चल्दथ्यो भन्ने कुरा चाहिँ निश्चित छ ।

धवल्ग्रीतपुर -- मध्यकालीन शुरुतिरका परिचयभेकका प्रसिद्ध प्रदेशमध्ये धवल्ग्रीतपुर पनि एक हो । यहाँ महासामन्तहरूको प्रशासन चल्दथ्यो । ने.सं. २२० मा धवल्ग्रीतपुरमा महासामन्त रामदेव थिए भन्ने कुरा 'आर्योष्णीषविजयनामधारिणी' भन्ने ग्रन्थबाट थाहा पाइन्छ^{४४} । साथै ने.सं. ३०३ मा लेखिएको 'चरकसंहिता' नामक हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थमा पनि धवल्ग्रीतपुरको उल्लेख आएको छ^{४५} । त्यसमा महासामन्त रत्नदेवको चर्चा छ । धवल्ग्रीतपुरमा लेखिएको एक अर्को हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ पनि पाइएको छ^{४६} ।

धवल्ग्रीतपुर वर्तमान धुलिखेल होला भनी श्रीपेटकले अनुमान गर्नुभएको छ^{४७} । तर 'धुलिखेल' यो नाम नेवारी 'धरिसिर'को नेपालीकरण भएको रूप हो । मध्यकालीन अभिलेख, कागजपत्र आदिमा धुलिखेललाई 'धरिसिर' आदि लेखिएको पाइन्छ^{४८} । धुलिखेलको संस्कृत नाउँ तात्कालीन ताडपत्रहरूमा 'शिसरापुरी' भन्ने आएको छ^{४९} । यस कारण धवल्ग्रीतपुर वर्तमान धुलिखेल होइन कि भन्ने देखिन्छ ।

फन्चावतदेशविषय -- ने.सं. ३२१ मा लेखिएको एक हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थमा फन्चावतदेश विषयको उल्लेख आएको छ । त्यसमा नेपालमण्डलका राजाका रूपमा अस्मितको चर्चा गरिएको छ । साथै त्यसमा 'श्रीफन्चावतदेशीयविषयाधिपतिराणाब्धीश्रीधरसिंहस्य वर्तमाने' भनी लेखी फन्चावतदेश विषयका प्रशासक चाहिँ श्रीधर सिंह राना (मगर) थिए भन्ने त्यहाँ दर्शाइएको छ^{५०} । राना शासक भएको नेपालमण्डल अन्तर्गतको यो विषय पनि नुवाकोटभन्दा परिचयतिरकै हो भन्ने देखिन्छ ।

उदयपुर -- यस ताका सामन्तद्वारा शासन गरिएका प्रदेशको रूपमा उल्लेख आइरहने प्रदेशमध्ये एक उदयपुर पनि हो । ने.सं. १८६ मा प्रयुम्नकामदेवको पालामा उदयपुरमा लेखिएको 'सद्धर्मपुण्डरीक' भन्ने ग्रन्थ पाइएको छ^{५१} । त्यसमा उदयपुराधिपतिको रूपमा महासामन्त जनार्दनजीवको चर्चा परेको छ । वामदेवको राज्यकालमा लेखिएको 'सकनिर्देशपत्रिका' भन्ने अर्को ग्रन्थमा पनि उदयपुरको उल्लेख आएको छ^{५२} । त्यसमा सुन्दर उदयपुरको रक्षा महासामन्त नागार्जुनदेवले गरिरहेको छ भन्ने वर्णन परेको छ । अर्को 'नवात्रजातक' भन्ने ने.सं. २४८ मा लेखिएको ग्रन्थमा नेपालमण्डलका राजाका रूपमा इन्द्रदेवको चर्चा छ तथा उदयपुराधिपतिको रूपमा महासामन्त पैमानन्दजीवको उल्लेख छ^{५३} ।

यी उदाहरणबाट यस ताका प्रसिद्ध प्रदेशमध्ये 'उदयपुर' पनि एक हो; त्यहाँ पुस्तनी अधिकार पारका महासामन्तहरूको प्रशासन चल्दथ्यो भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । यो उदयपुरको संफना पूर्वी नेपालको वर्तमान उदयपुरले दिलाइरहेको बुझिन्छ । पूर्वतिर भई भारत उत्रने मार्गमध्ये एक सिधुलीभेक पनि परेको हुनाले त्यति भेकमा 'उदयपुर'को रूपमा एक विशेष बस्तीको विकास यस ताका भएको अनुमान हुन्छ । साथै यसको सम्बन्ध दोलखा भई भोट डिगचासँग पनि थियो भन्ने अनुमान हुन्छ । यस्ताका उदयपुरभेकमा बौद्धधर्मको पनि प्रचार थियो भन्ने कुरा उपर्युक्त हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थबाट थाहा पाइन्छ ।

फनपिडो विषय -- यस ताकाका अभिलेख, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ आदिमा उल्लेख आइरहने 'विषय' मध्ये एक फनपिडो विषय पनि हो । वर्तमान फनपिडोको ने.सं. ३८१को एक अभिलेखमा 'श्रीफनपिडोविषयाधिपतिमहासामन्तश्रीभैरामजीवस्य नरैति' भन्ने उल्लेख पाइएको हुनाले फनपिडो विषय वर्तमान फनपिडो नै हो भन्ने निश्चित छ^{५४} । नेवारी भाषामा यस प्रदेशलाई अहिलेसम्म 'फपि' भनिन्छ । यसरी काठमाडौँ-उपत्यकाको सबभन्दा नजीकको विषय

(जिल्ला) यो हुन आएको छ । दक्षिणतिर मैदानमा भर्ने बाटामध्ये उहिले फरपिडो भई जाने बाटो पनि एक प्रचलित बाटो थियो । यसो हुनाले फरपिडोभन्दा विकसित बस्ती बस्यो । पछि प्रशासनको दृष्टिले यो प्रदेश एक विषयबन्त पुग्यो र यहाँ पुस्तैनी महासामन्तहरूको प्रशासन चलन थाल्यो ।

यति कुराबाट मध्यकालको नेपालको इतिहास सुलस्त रूपमा जान्नाका लागि माथि उल्लिखित गण्डीगुप्त, जिगलौद्गम, पन्नग, धवलप्रातपुर, पञ्चावतदेश, उदयपुर आदि प्रदेशहरूबारे खोजी गर्नु आवश्यक छ भन्ने स्पष्ट थाहा पाइन्छ । यसका लागि मध्यकालको शुद्धेति नै नेपालमण्डल कात्माडौँ-उपत्यका र आसपासका क्षेत्रमा मात्र सीमित थियो भन्ने पूर्वधारणालाई भने हामीले बदल्नुपरेको छ ।

(१ संख्या)

पाटन घायूबुको अभिलेख

पाटन कुम्भेश्वरनजीके घायूबु भन्ने ठाउँमा दुइटो साना साना देवमन्दिर छन् । तिनमा पछिल्लो मन्दिरमा शिवपरिवारको सुन्दर मूर्ति रहेको छ । त्यस मूर्तिको तल्लो भागमा एक श्लोक र त्यस मूर्तिको जलहरीमा एक श्लोक गरी यो अभिलेख कुँदिएकाे छ । यहाँ अभिलेख कुँदिएकाे भाग ३६ अङ्गुल लम्बा, ४ अङ्गुल चौडा छ । यहाँ ने.सं. १०७ रहेको छ ।

संशोधन-मण्डलद्वारा 'अभिलेख-संग्रह' नवीं भागमा यो अभिलेख प्रकाशित भएको छ^{५५} ।

१. नमश्च्रीलल्लिशा य सर्वज्ञत्रिगुणात्मने ।
देवात्मजवरेशाय भुविभुविप्रदायिने॥
१. राज्ये श्रीगुणकामदेवनृपतिस्सप्तोवरैव्ये शति
माघे मासि च रोहिणीबुधदिने
२. श्रीमाणिग्वल्ले सराल्य कृतस्तच्छीवरी पात्मनः
पित्रोर्वन्द गुरोश्च भवि जता स्वर्गपिक्वगप्तये ।

अनुवाद

सबैकुरा जान्ने, त्रिगुण (सत्त्व रजः तमः) स्वरूप भएका, भुवि र भुवि दिने, ठूला देवता श्रीलल्लिेश महादेवलाई नमस्कार छ ।

ने.सं. १०७ (वि.सं. १०४३) माघ महीना रोहिणीनक्षत्र बुधवारको दिन, राजा श्रीगुणकामदेवको राज्यमा, श्रीमाणिग्वल्ले, आमा बाबुलाई ढोग्ने गुल्ले भवि गर्ने ... ले संसारलाई स्वर्ग र मोक्षा प्राप्त होस् भनी देवमन्दिर बनाए ।

व्याख्या --

नेपालसंवत् प्रचलित भएदेखि नेपालको इतिहासमा मध्यकालको शुरू मानिएको छ । राजनैतिक दृष्टिले यो समयविभाजन त्यति मिल्दो देखिएको छैन तापनि सांस्कृतिक दृष्टिले भने यो समयविभाजन केही मिल्दो नै देखिन आएको छ ।

अभिलेखको समय --

नेपालसंवत् शुरू भएपछि अहिलेसम्म पाइएका मितितिथि, राजाको नाम आदि समेत उल्लिखित अभिलेखहरूमा राजा गुणकामदेवको पालाको यो अभिलेख पहिलो हो । हुन्त श्री लुशियानी पेटकले यस अभिलेखमा संवत् देखिदिने; लिपिको आधारमा यो अभिलेख बाह्रौं शताब्दीका दोस्रो गुणकामदेवको पालाको हो जस्तो मलाई लाग्छ; किनभने पहिला गुणकामदेवले पाटनभित्र शासन गरेका थिएनन् भन्ने भावध्यात गर्नभएको छ^{५६} । श्रीडिल्लीरमण रेग्मीले पनि यस अभिलेखमा उल्लिखित गुणकामदेवलाई ने.सं. ३०५ तिरके हुन् भनी देखाउन खोज्नुभएको छ । साथै उहाँले यस अभिलेखको संवत् भएको भागको पाठ 'सप्तोवरैव्ये शति' पढ्नुभएको छ^{५७} । तर यस अभिलेखमा 'सप्तोवरैव्ये शति' भन्ने पाठ राम्ररी नै ठप्पाउन सकिन्छ । यस कारण यो अभिलेख ने.सं. १०७ को हो भन्ने कुरामा कुनै शङ्का छैन । यस ताका नेपालमा

गुणकामदेवले सकल राज्य गरिरहेका थिए भन्ने कुराको पुष्टि अर्को प्रमाणले पनि गर्दछ^{५८} । सो हो, राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखात्मामा रहेको 'सुमतिपञ्जिका' नामक हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ । ने.सं. ११० मा लेखिएको सो पुस्तकमा त्यस बेला राजा गुणकामदेवले राज्य गरिरहेका थिए भन्ने कुरा यसरी लेखिएको छ -

राजा श्रीगुणकामदेवविभुना स्वस्यैकराज्ये कृते
वर्षस्मिन् दिशमुत्तरे शततमे
दिने ताराधनिष्ठां न्विते
नाम्नेयं सुमतिर्यथाभिलिखिता ॥

(ने.सं. ११० (वि.सं. १०४७) धनिष्ठा नक्षत्रको दिन, राजा श्रीगुणकामदेवले आफू एकलै राज्य गरिरहनुभएको बेलामा, यो सुमतिपञ्जिका नामक ग्रन्थ लेखियो ।)

यस प्रमाणबाट यस ताका गुणकामदेवले राज्य गरिरहेका थिए भन्ने सिद्ध हुन्छ । यस कुराको पुष्टि वंशावलीबाट पनि हुन्छ । फेरि लिपिले पनि यो कुरा मान्नामा कुन बाधा पुऱ्याउदैन । यस अभिलेखमा प्रयुक्त लिपि त्यस बेला प्रचलित 'पाकुली' शैली को हो । अफ् माथिल्लो स्तोत्ररूपको श्लोक त तात्कालिक रञ्जनाशैलीमा कुंदिएको छ ।

यी गुणकामदेवले पाटनभन्दा राज्य गरेका थिएनन् भन्ने श्रीपेटेको तर्क प्रामाण्यपूर्ण हैन । मध्यकालको उत्तरार्धमा जस्तै शुद्धेसि ने 'नेपालमण्डल' सानो र सण्डित थियो भन्ने पूर्वधारणा लिइएको हुँदा यो भ्रम परेको हो । तात्कालिक कुरा राम्ररी बुझ्न यो धारणालाई बदल्नुपर्यो । भन्ने कुराको चर्चा माथि प्रस्तावना मा 'नेपालमण्डल' भन्ने प्रकरणमा गरिसकेको छु ।

राजा गुणकामदेवको शासनकालमा देवमन्दिर बनाई त्यहाँ उमामहेश्वर (शिवपरिवार) को स्थापना गरेको कुरा यस अभिलेखमा परेको छ । अभिलेख कुंदन लाउनेले आफूलाई आमा बाबु-प्रति विनीत, गुरुप्रति भक्ति गर्नेको रूपमा वर्णन गराएको छ । तर भव्य यो मूर्ति स्थापना गर्ने ती व्यक्तिहरूको नाम भने यस अभिलेखमा स्पष्ट हैन ।

नेपाल संवत्को प्रचलन -

अब मध्यकालको शुद्धेसि अन्त्यसम्म एक टङ्कठारले भने जस्तै प्रचलनमा आएको नेपालसंवत्को प्रचलन बारे अलिक्ता विचार गर्नुपर्यो छ । मध्यकालमा नेपालमा सूप प्रचलित यही लेखिएको 'सुमतिपञ्जिका' नामक ज्योतिष ग्रन्थ नेपालमा प्रचलित संवत्हरूको निर्णयको लागि निकै उपयोगी रहेको छ । त्यसमा नेपालमा अधि देसि प्रचलित संवत्हरूको सिद्धाप्त वर्णन परेको छ । त्यस वर्णनमा 'शकसंवत् ४६८ देसि चल्लो संवत् ३०४ वर्षसम्म चल्यो; त्यसपछि अर्को संवत् (नेपाल-संवत्) चल्यो' भन्ने भावको कुरा परेको छ^{५९} । अभिलेखहरू कलाई हेर्दा सुमतिपञ्जिकाको उक्त मनाइको पुष्टि हुन्छ । अशुक्माको समयदेखि राष्ट्रिय स्तरमा प्रचलनमा आएको संवत्को उल्लेख ३०१ सम्म पाइएको छ । त्यसबेला राजा मानदेव थिए^{६०} । मानदेवपछि राघवदेव गद्दीमा बस्दछन् । त्यसबेलादेखिका (संवत् ३०४ पछिका) अभिलेख, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ आदिमा सो पुरानो संवत् नै चल्दै गइरहेको पाइदैन; त्यस बेलादेखि अर्को नयाँ संवत्को प्रचलन भएको हामी पाउँछौं । यस संवत्लाई पछि 'नेपालसंवत्' भन्ने नामकरण गरियो । उपर्युक्त प्रसङ्गबाट नेपालसंवत्को प्रचलन राघवदेवको पालादेखि भएको हो भन्ने सक्ति पाइन्छ । वंशावलीमा राघवदेवले संवत् चलाए भन्ने स्पष्ट उल्लेख पनि पाइने हुनाले उक्त कुराको पुष्टि हुन्छ ।

नेपाल संवत्को प्रचलन कुन उपलब्धमा भयो होला भन्ने प्रश्न यहाँनिर उठ्नु स्वाभाविक छ । एक राजवंशको स्थान अर्को राजवंशले लिपिपद्धि अर्थात् राजपरिवर्तन भएपछि यो संवत् प्रचलित भएको हुनुपर्छ भन्ने अनुमान पहिले केही इतिहासकारले गरेका थिए । तर प्राप्त सामग्रीहरू केलाई हेर्दा उक्त अनुमान मिल्दो देखिन आउँदैन । विचारार्थ गोपालराजवंशावलीको वर्णनतिर नै दृष्टि दिऔं । जब जब राजपरिवर्तन हुन्छ; तब त्यस परिवर्तनको सक्ति गोपालराजवंशावली-कारले गरेको पाइन्छ । गोपाल, महिषपाल राजाहरूको हातबाट शासनाधिकार किरात राजा-हरूको हातमा जाँदा त्यसको चर्चा गोपालवंशावलीमा गरिएको छ^{६१} । किरात राजाहरूलाई जित्ने लिच्छविहरूले शासन गरेको स्पष्ट उल्लेख सो वंशावलीकारले गरेका छन्^{६२} । बीकमा लिच्छवि राजाको हातबाट शक्ति आभीर गुप्तहरूको हातमा जाँदा पनि यसको सक्ति गोपाल-वंशावलीकारले गरेका छन्^{६३} । तर मानदेवपछि राघवदेव राजा हुँदा राजवंशपरिवर्तनको कुनै सक्तिसम्पन्न पनि गोपालवंशावलीकारले गरेका छैनन् । यसबाट नेपालसंवत्को प्रचलन राजवंशपरिवर्तन-सँग सम्बद्ध छ जस्तो देखिँदैन । बरु पछि नै लेखिएको भए तापनि केशरपुस्तकालयमा रहेको वंशावली (संदिपाप्त रूपको एकथरी गोपालवंशावली)मा उल्लिखित कुरा सत्य हो जस्तो देखिन्छ । त्यसमा 'राजा श्रीराघवदेव वर्ष ६३ मास ६ ।। श्रीपशुपतिभट्टारके सम्बत्सरप्रवृत्तिः कृता ।।' भनी पशु-पतिनाथलाई लक्ष्य गरेर अर्थात् नेपालका प्रमुख मान्यता प्राप्त देवता श्रीपशुपतिनाथको सम्मानार्थ राघवदेवले सो संवत् चलाएको उल्लेख संदिपाप्त रूपमा गरिएको छ^{६४} । यो कुरा बुझ्न लिच्छवि-कालदेखि विशेष गरेर अशुक्मको पालादेखि राष्ट्रिय स्तरमा पशुपतिनाथप्रति दशहराको सम्मान-तिर दृष्टि दिनुपर्छ । आफूना प्रशस्तिमा 'पशुपतिभट्टारकपादानुध्यात' भनी लेख्ने पशुपतिनाथ-प्रति अतिशय श्रद्धा प्रकट गर्ने पहिलो शासक अशुक्म हुन्^{६५} । यति मात्र होइन, पशुपतिनाथप्रति राष्ट्रिय स्तरमा सम्मान व्यक्त गर्ने अशुक्मले 'पशुपति' अङ्कित मुद्रा नै प्रचलनमा ल्याएका थिए^{६६} । अनि उनीपछिका लिच्छविकालका अरु शासकहरूले पनि पशुपतिनाथप्रति सोही प्रकारको सम्मान दशाउँदै गए तथा 'पशुपति' मुद्राहरू प्रचलनमा ल्याउने काम जारी राखे । समय समयका विभिन्न लिपि अङ्कित 'पशुपति' मुद्राहरूले उक्त कुरा स्पष्ट पार्छन् । नरेन्द्रदेव, द्वितीय जय-देव आदि प्रसिद्ध कति लिच्छवि राजाहरूका नाम-अङ्कित पृथक् मुद्राहरू पाइएका छैनन्; तर उनीहरूको पालाको लिपि-अङ्कित 'पशुपति' मुद्राहरू भने प्रशस्त पाइन्छन् । पशुपतिनाथको मात्र होइन; पशुपतिनाथका वाहन 'वृष' को सम्मानमा समेत त्यसैबेला तामाका साना मुद्राहरू प्रचलनमा ल्याइएका थिए^{६७} । यही परम्परामा राघवदेवले पशुपतिनाथको सम्मानमा नयाँ संवत् प्रचलन गरेको अनुमान हुन्छ ।

गुणकामदेवहरूको वंश -

नेपालसंवत् प्रचलित भइसकेपछिका राजाहरू र यसभन्दा अगाडिका राजाहरू एकै शाखाका हुन्; यस बीच राजपरिवर्तन भएको कुनै सक्ति पाइँदैन भन्ने कुराको चर्चा माथि गरिसकेको छ । यस्तो भए यी राघवदेव, गुणकामदेव आदि राजाहरू कुन वंशका हुन् भन्ने समस्या इतिहासकार-हरूको सामुन्ने सडा भएको छ । वंशावलीकारहरूले राघवदेव आदि राजाहरूलाई 'ठकुरी' वंशका भनी लेखेको पाइन्छ^{६८} । वंशावलीकारले लिच्छविकालका अशुक्म आदिलाई पनि 'ठकुरी' वंशका भनी लेखेका छन्^{६९} । पुराना अभिलेख, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ आदिमा ठकुरी शब्दको प्रयोग भएको पाइँदैन; ठकुरी शब्दको प्रचलन अलि पछि मात्र भएको हो । यसको तात्पर्य 'राजपुत्र' (रजपूत) कहलिका एकथरी उच्च क्षत्रियहरूलाई पछि 'ठकुरी' भन्न थालियो भन्ने देखिन्छ । यसबाट 'ठकुरी' शब्द उच्चवंशका क्षत्रियलाई कहने साधारण शब्द हो; विशेषवंशवाचक शब्द यो होइन भन्ने सक्ति पाइन्छ । यस कारण गुणकामदेवहरू कुन वंशका हुन् भन्ने कुरा विचारणीय नै रह्यो ।

नेपाल संवत्का शुरूका अभिलेखमा तात्कालिक राजाको वंशवारे कतै कुनै उल्लेख गरिएको पाइँदैन । अलि पछिका जन्ताले राखेका अभिलेखहरूमा भने यी राजाहरूको वर्णन गर्दा 'रघुवंशी' 'सूर्यवंशी' भनेर मात्र वर्णन गरिएको पाइन्छ । जस्तै राष्ट्रिय संग्रहालय, काठमाडौँमा रहेको ने.सं. २६२ को अभिलेखमा आनन्ददेवलाई 'श्रीरघुवंशमौलिकमणि' भनिएको छ^{७०} । भक्तपुर तिमदी-टोलाको अभिलेखमा आनन्ददेवलाई 'सूर्यकुलप्रदीप' भनिएको छ^{७१} । साँसु वज्रजोगिनीको ने.सं. २६३ को अभिलेखमा रुद्रदेवलाई 'रघुपति' भनिएको छ^{७२} । तर यताबाट पनि अझ विशेष कुराको टुङ्गो लाग्दैन । शासनाधिकार हात लार्का यावत् दात्रिय राजाहरू कि सूर्यवंशी कि चन्द्रवंशी कहलाउने चलन पुरानो हो । लिच्छविकालमा लिच्छविराजाहरू सूर्यवंशी कहलार्का थिए^{७३} । अशुवर्मा, जिष्णुगुप्तहरू चाहिँ चन्द्रवंशी कहलार्का थिए^{७४} । जयदेव (द्वितीय)ले आफूलाई लिच्छविवंशको वर्णन गराउँदा सूर्यदेसि शुरू गर्ने लार्का छन् । सूर्यवंशमा भएका राजा रघु नामी ठहरिँदा सूर्यवंशीहरू रघुवंशी पनि कहलार्का छन् । उपत्यकाका मल्ल राजाहरूका प्रशस्तिमा 'रघुवंशावतार, रविकुलतिकल' भन्ने उल्लेख गरिएको पाइन्छ^{७५} । मध्यकालका शुरूका राजाहरू चन्द्रवंशी नकहलाई सूर्यवंशी कहलार्का हुनाले र लिच्छविराजा जयदेव (द्वितीय) पछि बीचमा राजवंशपरिवर्तन भएको तात्कालिक उल्लेख नपाइँने हुनाले यी गुणाकामदेवहरू कहीं उही पुरानै लिच्छविवंशकै सन्तान ता होइनन् भन्ने प्रश्न उठाउन नसकिने होइन । तर यस विषयमा कुनै निर्णयमा पुग्न यस दृष्टिले बढी सोजी हुनु आवश्यक छ ।

ललितपुर, माणिक्वल -

लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखमा ललितपुर वा माणिक्वलको उल्लेख पाइँदैन । ललितपुर शहरको विकास अनेक ग्रामहरूको समूह मिलेर भएको हो । लिच्छवि-अभिलेखहरूमा ललितपुरभेकका ती अनेक ग्रामहरूको उल्लेख हामी पाउँछौं; जुन ग्रामहरू पछि टोलाका रूपमा परिणत भए^{७६} । ती ग्रामहरू मध्ये केन्द्रमा रहेको 'यूपग्राम'को विकास बढी भयो र यो 'द्रङ्ग' (व्यापारकेन्द्ररूपको विशेष बस्ती) बन्यो^{७७} । अरू ग्रामहरू टोलाका रूपमा यस द्रङ्गको अन्तर्गत रहे । यसरी क्रमशः यो भेकले शहरको रूप लिन थाल्यो । दुइ शताब्दी जति पछि अवस्थामा केही स्पष्ट अन्तर देखापरेको । अब 'यूपग्रामद्रङ्ग' नामको प्रचलन लुप्त भयो । त्यसको ठाउँ 'ललितपुर' ले लि्यो । ने.सं. १३२को पाटन त्यागलटोलाको अभिलेखमा 'ललितपुर'को स्पष्ट उल्लेख आइसकेको छ^{७८} । यस अभिलेखमा उल्लिखित 'ललितेश' महादेवले पनि ललितपुरलाई सक्ति गरेको बुझिन्छ ।

कलाप्रति बढी मुकाव भएको सुन्दर शहर हुँदा यस शहरले 'ललितपुर' भन्ने संज्ञा पार्ने देखिएको छ । यस शहरको केन्द्रभागको ठेट नामको रूपमा अर्को नाउँ 'माणिक्वल' पनि मध्यकालमा निकै प्रसिद्ध रह्यो । ललितपुरका स्वतन्त्र शासकहरूले गर्वसाथ लिन पदवीमा 'माणिक्वलाधिपति'को प्रमुखता रहेको छ^{७९} । सो माणिक्वलको पहिलो उल्लेख यसै अभिलेखमा आएको छ । लिच्छविराजा मानदेवले बनाउन लार्को प्रसिद्ध दरबार 'मानगृह'को अपभ्रंश भई माणिक्वल, मानिगल, मङ्गल आदि रूप देखापरेका हुन् भन्ने अनुमान गरिएको छ । तर 'मानगृह' दरबार ललितपुरमा रहेको देखापर्दैन; साथै मानगृहको अपभ्रंश भई 'माणिक्वल' बनेको पनि होइन जस्तो मलाई लाग्छ । बस्तीविशेषलाई कहने 'ग्वल' शब्दको उल्लेख लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखमा धेरै ठाउँमा आएको छ । उदाहरणार्थ युग्वल, तेग्वल, गीग्वल आदि 'ग्वल' जोडिएका तात्कालिक स्थानविशेषलाई औल्याउन सकिन्छ^{८०} । 'ग्वल' यो शब्द संस्कृत 'गृह'को अपभ्रंश नभई किरातपरिवारको भाषाको ठेट शब्द हो जस्तो मलाई लाग्छ । यही 'ग्वल' शब्दसँग 'मणि' शब्दको संयोगले 'माणिक्वल' नामकरण भएको देखिन्छ । ललितपुरका अभिलेख, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ आदिमा यस भेकका देवता, ठाउँ आदिसँग 'मणि' जोडिएको पाइन्छ । मणिकुमार, मणिनाग, मणिमण्डप आदिलाई उदाहरणको रूपमा देखाउन सकिन्छ^{८०(क)} । यस दृष्टिले 'माणिक्वल'को सोजी गरे निश्चित निष्कर्ष निकाल्नै देखिन्छ ।

उमामहेश्वर (शिवपरिवार) -

उमामहेश्वर को रूपमा शिव र शक्ति को संयुक्त रूपमा उपासना गर्ने चलन लिच्छविकाली चलिक्की थियो । पशुपति वाग्देवीपारि मगस्थली जाने बाटोमा रहेको लिच्छवि-अक्षरयुक्त सुन्दर उमामहेश्वरले यस कुराको पुष्टि गर्छ । तर पछि मध्यकालको शुष्मा उमा र महेश्वरलाई मात्र महत्व नदिएर शिवपरिवारलाई नै महत्व दिइने थाल्यो । अभिलेखयुक्त यस ताकाका शिव-परिवारका मूर्तिहरूलाई नियालेर हेर्दा भनि हामी उक्त कुरा थाहा पाउन सक्छौ । पशुपतिको उमामहेश्वर मूर्तिमा महादेव र पार्वतीको मात्र विशेष चित्रण गरिएको छ; कुमार र गणेशको चित्रण त्यहाँ गरिएको छैन । अब मध्यकालको शुष्मा भनि कुमार र गणेशले पनि स्थान पाउन थाले । महादेव, पार्वती, स्वामिकार्तिक (कुमार) र गणेश आफ्ना सिद्धान्तमा भिन्न रूपका छन् तापनि संयुक्त रूपमा मिलेर रहँदा एक सुखी आदर्श-परिवारको रूपमा देखापर्छन् भन्ने फल्काउने प्रयास मध्यकालमा गरिएको पाइन्छ । संयुक्त परिवारप्रथा यस ताकाको समाजमा फल्नु बलियो हुँदै गइरहेको हुनाले त्यसको औचित्य सिद्ध गर्ने पनि शिवपरिवारको यस रूपमा चित्रण गरिएको अनुमान हुन्छ । साथै संयुक्त रहने यस्तै भावनाले गर्दा तात्कालिक शासनव्यवस्थामा समेत त्रैराज्य पद्धतिले बढी स्थान पाएथ्यो ।

यो अभिलेख कुँदिएको पाटन घाँबुको शिवपरिवारको मूर्तिमा पनि उक्त कुराको अभिव्यक्ति राम्ररी भएको छ । एक सुखी आदर्श-परिवारको विभिन्न मुखमुद्रा चित्रण गर्ने कलाकार सफल छन् । प्रसन्न मुद्रामा अंगालेर सँगै बसेका शिव-पार्वती, गणहत्का साथमा नाच्नामा व्यस्त गणेश, आफ्नै वाहन मयूरमाथि बसेका गम्भीर स्वामिकार्तिक आदिको चित्रण कलाकारले यस मूर्तिमा सफलतापूर्वक गरेका छन् । यसरी मध्यकालको शुष्मा मूर्तिकलाको सुन्दर नमूना पनि यस मूर्तिले देखाइरहेको छ ।

लोकधारणा -

यस ताकाको समाजको अभीष्ट कुरा प्रायः दुइटो थिए भन्ने देखिएको छ । एक मुक्ति अर्थात् बाबुन्जेल आवश्यक चीज-बीजको सुखसाथ उपभोग गर्न पाउनु; अर्को मुक्ति अर्थात् मरेपछि अरू यातना भोग्नु नपर्ने गरी पुनर्जन्मबाट मुक्त हुनु । शिव, विष्णु आदि देवताको उपासनाले मुक्ति र मुक्ति पाउन सकिन्छ भन्ने लोकधारणा त्यस बेला रहेको देखिन्छ । यस अभिलेखमा र तल दिइएको अर्को अभिलेखमा त्यस्तै धारणा व्यक्त गरिएको पाइन्छ ।

आमा-बाबुप्रति मान्यता, गुरुप्रति भक्ति दर्शाउनु समाजमा सुखी रहन आवश्यक कुरा हो भन्ने धारणा पनि त्यसबेला थियो । यो सानो अभिलेखमा त्यसको पनि स्पष्ट उल्लेख परेको छ ।

विद्याको स्तरमा गिरावट -

मध्यकालको शुष्मा विद्याको स्तर गिरि लागेको थियो भन्ने संकेत यस ताकाका अभिलेखले दिन्छन् । घाँबुको यस सानो अभिलेखमा अशुद्ध संस्कृतको प्रयोग भएको छ; कनी कनीकन अशुद्ध रूपमा पयरचना गरिएको छ । लिच्छविकालमा पनि जस्ताले राख्नेलायका अभिलेखमा केही अशुद्धि नपाइने होइन । तर त्यस बेला विद्याको स्तर उठेको देखापर्छ । अब त्यो अवस्था कायम हुन सकेको देखिँदैन ।

यसो हो तापनि यस ताका पनि अनेक विषयको पठन पाठन सर्वात्मनो लुप्त भएको चाहिँ होइन । यस ताका लेखिएका अनेक विषयका हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थहरूले यस कुराको संकेत हामीलाई

दिलाउंछन् । साथै यसको एक शताब्दी जति पछि (शिवदेव, आनन्ददेवहरूको पालामा)त एक-चोटि फेरि विद्याको स्तम्भा पनि उन्नति भएको हामी पाउँछौं । बाहिरबाट ठूलठूला विद्वान् पनि यहाँ आई रहन लागेका थिए^{८३} ।

गुणकामदेवको राज्यकाल र कृति -

राजा गुणकामदेवले कति वर्ष शासन गरे भन्ने कुरा निश्चित रूपमा भन्न सकिने छैन । गौपाल वंशावली आदि वंशावलीका रचयिताहरूले यस ताकाका राजाहरूको राज्यकाल आदिको वर्ण गरेको पाइन्छ तापनि तिन्मा एकमत देखिँदैन; विभिन्न वंशावलीमा भिन्न भिन्न क्रम र समयको उल्लेख भएको पाइन्छ । यस कारण यसताकाका राजाहरूको क्रम र समयको निर्धारणको लागि अभिलिख र हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थहरूको भर पर्नुपर्छ । ने.सं. १०७ (वि.सं. १०४३)को गुणकामदेवको पालाको यो अभिलिख पाइएको हुनाले यस ताका गुणकामदेवले राज्य गरिरहेको कुरा निश्चित भएको छ । ने.सं. ११० को गुणकामदेवको राज्यकालमा लेखिएको हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ पाइएको हुनाले त्यस बेला पनि उनी राज्य गरिरहेको निश्चित भएको छ । 'सुमतिपञ्जिका' भन्ने उक्त हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थमा गुणकामदेवको वर्णन गर्दा 'राजा श्रीगुणकामदेवविभुना स्वस्यैकराज्ये कृते' भनी 'एकराज्ये' मा जोड दिइएको हुँदा 'त्रैराज्ये' पद्धति यस ताका प्रचलनमा आइसकेको थियो; तर गुणकामदेवले चाहिँ एकच्छत्र नै राज्य चलाएको सक्ति पाइन्छ^{८४} ।

गुणकामदेवको राज्यकाल शान्तिपूर्ण र केही समृद्ध रहेको आभास पाइन्छ । यिनले गरेका निकै धर्मकर्मको वर्णन गौपालवंशावलीकारले गरेका छन् । 'पशुपतिनाथलाई यिनले एकाद्वटा कौश चढाए; पशुपतिमै रहेका ईशानेश्वरको मन्दिरमा तामाको काना हालि; सुनधाराको निर्माण गरे; कोटिहोम गरे आदि वर्णन गौपालवंशावलीमा परेको छ^{८५} । भाषावंशावलीमा गुणकामदेवले 'कान्तिपुर' शहर बसाएको वर्णन परेको छ^{८६} । यही समय विचार गर्दा कान्तिपुर (काष्मण्डपपुरी) बसाउने ती गुणकामदेव यिनै हुन् भन्ने अनुमान हुन्छ । किनभने कान्तिपुर, काष्मण्डपपुरीको प्रामाणिक उल्लेख यसै ताका भनी जस्तै पाइन्छ । त्यस ताकाको परिभाषाअनुसार शहरको एक प्रमुख अङ्ग 'मण्डप' पनि हुन्थ्यो^{८७} । 'मण्डप' सभाभवनको रूपमा विशिष्ट अथवा डबलीको रूपमा साधारण पनि हुन्थ्यो । तर 'काष्मण्डप' नेपाली पुरानी शैलीमा भव्य रूपमा बन्थ्यो । यसो हुँदा यसै मण्डपको नाउँले शहर नै 'काष्मण्डप' कहलाउन पुग्यो । तर गौपालवंशावलीकारले भनी यस महत्वपूर्ण कुराको वर्णन नै गरेका छैनन् । यस कारण अरु प्रमाण नपाइसम्म यस विषयमा निश्चित रूपमा केही भन्न सकिँदैन ।

(२ संख्या)

उदयदेवकी पालाकी अभिलेख

गरुडध्वज विष्णुकी धातुकी कोश (क्वचविशेष) की पादपीठमा यी अभिलेख कुदिरकी क^{८८} । डा० प्रतापादित्य पाल्द्वारा यी प्रकाशमा आएको छ । गौतमवज्र वज्राचार्यद्वारा प्राप्त चित्रप्रतिलिपिकी आधारमा यी पाठ पढिएको हो ।

मूलपाठ

१. ॐ सम्बत्सरे शततमे चतुर्विंशतिका (धिके) चैताख्यासितद्वादश्यां शशिपुत्रदिने
२. शुभे ॥ श्रीमहोदयदेवस्य राज्ये नेपालमण्डले । श्रीजिगलोद्गमविषये विद्व -
३. त्साधुजनान्विते ॥ कोशं प्रदद्याद् गरुडध्वजाय श्रद्धान्वितः श्रीलूपनी म --
४. - । अनेन पुन्येन भवन्तु लोका मुक्तिरुत्कृष्टमुक्तिरुत्तमफलः समिताः ॥ ० ॥

अनुवाद

ॐ । ने.सं. १२४ (वि.सं. १०६१) चैत्रकृष्णद्वादशी बुधवारकी शुभ दिनामा, ठूला श्रीउदय-देवकी राज्यमा, नेपालमण्डलमा, विद्वान्हरू र असल मानिसहरू भएका श्रीजिगलोद्गम भन्ने विषय (जिल्ला)मा,

श्रद्धालु श्रीलूपनी... गरुडध्वज विष्णुलाई कोश चढाए । यस पुण्यले संसारले मुक्ति र मुक्ति-को फल पाउन् ।

व्याख्या -

यस ताकाका राजाहरूको शासन-समय र क्रम ठीकसँग थाहा पाउन सकिएको छैन; विभिन्न वंशावलीमा राजाहरूको राज्यकाल र क्रम विभिन्न दिइएको छ; यस कारण यस ताकाका राजा-हरूबारे थाहा पाउन अभिलेख र हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थको भर पर्नुपरेको छ भन्ने कुराको चर्चा माथि पनि गरिसकेको छ । यस अभिलेखबाट ने.सं. १२४ (वि.सं. १०६१)मा नेपालमण्डलका राजाका हेसियतले उदयदेवले शासन गरिरहेका थिए भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । यसको लघुलिपिको ने.सं. १२५को भक्तपुर भैरवस्थानको अभिलेखमा महाराजाधिराजका रूपमा निर्भयदेवको उल्लेख आएको छ । यसबाट त्यसवेला उदयदेवको शासन समाप्त भइसकेको बुझिन्छ । ने.सं. ११६ को एक हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थमा उदयदेव सर्वप्रथम नरेन्द्रदेवका साथमा संयुक्त शासकका रूपमा देखापरेका थिए^{८९} । नरेन्द्रदेवको शासनकाल एक वर्ष जतिको मात्र हुँदा त्यसपछि उदयदेव एकल शासक बनेथे । नरेन्द्रदेव र उदयदेवमा के नाता पर्दथ्यो भन्ने कुराचाहिँ थाहा पाउन सकिएको छैन ।

वंशावलीकारहरूले उदयदेवको राज्यकाल प्रायः गरी ६ वर्ष जतिको दिएको छन्^{९०} । हस्त-लिखित ग्रन्थ र अभिलेखबाट ने.सं. ११६ देखि १२४ सम्म उनकी शासन चलिरेको देखिएको र ने.सं. १२५ मा शासकका रूपमा निर्भयदेवको उल्लेख आइसकेको हुनाले वंशावलीकारले दिएको उदय-देवको राज्यकाल केही मिलेको देखिन्छ ।

यस बेलासम्म नेपाल राज्य टुक्रिसकेको थिएन; नेपाल राज्यभित्र अनेक विषय (जिल्ला) हरू थिए; केन्द्र र ती विषयहरूलाई समेत बुझाउन त्यस बेला 'नेपालमण्डल' शब्द व्यवहृत हुन्थ्यो भन्ने चर्चा माथि प्रस्तावनामा गरिसकेको छ । उक्त कुराको पुष्टि यस अभिलेखले पनि गर्छ । यी अभिलेख उदयदेवले नेपालमण्डलका राजाका हेसियतले शासन चलाइरेको बेलामा

‘जिग्लोद्गम’ भन्ने विषय (जिल्ला)मा कुँदाइएको हो । यसवेला काठमाडौँ-उपत्यका र आसपासका क्षेत्रमा मात्र नेपालराज्य सीमित थियो भन्ने धारणाले गर्दा यस्ता ‘विषय’हरूको सोजीतिर विद्वान्हरूको ध्यान गएको छैन । यस कारण ‘जिग्लोद्गम’ विषय कता पर्दथ्यो भन्ने यकीन गर्न सकिएको छैन । तर यो प्रदेश गण्डकी प्रस्रवणक्षेत्रमा कतै हुनुपर्दछ भन्ने मलाई लागेको छ । यस विषयमा माथि प्रस्तावनामा लेखिसकेको छु । यस अभिलेखबाट उत्तर जिग्लोद्गम विषय विकसित बस्ती थियो भन्ने सक्ति पाइन्छ । जिग्लोद्गम विषयको वर्णन गर्दा यस अभिलेखमा ‘विद्वत्साधुजनान्विते’ भन्ने कुरामा जोड दिइएको छ । यसबाट सांस्कृतिक विकासको दृष्टिले पनि सो प्रदेश निकै अगाडि बढेको सक्ति पाइन्छ ।

अर्को कुरा गरुडध्वज (विष्णु)लाई ‘कोश’ चढाई यो अभिलेख कुँदुन लाउने व्यक्तिको नाउँ अलि अर्कै सालको छ; सो हो ‘लृपने’ । यो कुन परिवारको भाषाको शब्द हो; सो कुट्याउन सकिँ जिग्लोद्गम विषयको स्थाननिर्धारणको लागि यसबाट निकै मदत हुन देखिन्छ । साथै सूद यस जिल्लाको नाउँ पनि भाषाशास्त्रको दृष्टिले विचारणीय छ ।

कोशअर्पण -

यस अभिलेखमा गरुडध्वज (विष्णु)लाई ‘कोश’ चढाएको कुरा परेको छ । श्रद्धालु भक्तजनले देवदेवतालाई कोश चढाएको वर्णन यस ताका निकै पाइन्छ । गोपालवंशावलीमा पशुपतिलाई कोश चढाउने प्राचीन कालदेखिको शासकहरूको नामसूची परेको छ । ‘कोश’ शब्दले केलाई लक्ष्य गरिन्थ्यो भन्ने कुरा पहिले स्पष्ट हुन सकेको थिएन । हाल यसबारे केही कुरा प्रकाशमा आएको छ^{६९} । देवमूर्तिको देखिने सम्पूर्ण भागलाई ढाक्ने धातुको पाटारूपको बाहिरी आवरण-विशेषलाई ‘कोश’ भनिदो रहेछ । अर्को शब्दमा यो ‘कवच’ रूपको हो भन्न सकिन्छ । यस कुराको पुष्टि यस अभिलेखबाट पनि हुन्छ । यहाँ ‘कोश’ प्रदयाद् गरुडध्वजाय भन्ने उल्लेख परेको छ । साथै यो अभिलेख कुँदिरको धातुको ‘कोश’ गरुडध्वज विष्णुको मूर्ति अङ्कित त्यसै अनुरूपको पाटा-विशेष हो ।

(३ संख्या)

भक्तपुर भैरवस्थानको अभिलेख

भक्तपुर तीमडिटीमा भैरवको प्रसिद्ध मन्दिर रहेको छ । सो भैरवमन्दिर निरको चौकभित्र एउटा इनार छ । त्यस इनारबाट पानी फिक्दा टेक्ने ढुङ्गा बनाइराखेको एउटा कुनै देवताको पादपीठमा यो अभिलेख कुँदिएको छ । यसको अभिलेख कुँदिएको भाग २२ अङ्गुल लम्बा, ५ अङ्गुल चौडा छ । यो अभिलेखको छेउको केही भाग सण्डित छ । यहाँ ने.सं. १२५ रहेको छ ।

संशोधन-मण्डलद्वारा 'अभिलेख-संग्रह' दोस्रो भागमा यो अभिलेख प्रकाशित भएको छ ।

मूलाठ

१. ॐ श्रियोस्तुः ॥ सम्बत् १२५ चैत्रशुक्लत्रयोदश्या ---
२. महाराजाधिराज श्रीनिर्मयदेवविजयराज्यः ॥ श्रीसपु ---
३. शिवग्वलीचरटील्लवास्तव्य जयचतुपाकन श्रियाधर दवक परक ---
४. देवस्थानार्थ द्वादस मानि धानि प्रज्ञातयति । तिलिम्भराण ---

अनुवाद

कल्याण होस् । ने.सं. १२५ (वि.सं. १०६२) चैत्र शुक्ल त्रयोदशीको दिन --- महाराजाधिराज श्रीनिर्मयदेवको विजयराज्यमा ।

श्रीसपु --- शिवग्वलीको उत्तरटीमा बस्ने जयचतुपाकले --- देवस्थलको लागि बाहु मानिका धान (आउने सैत) चढाएका छन् ।

व्याख्या -

ने.सं. १२५ (वि.सं. १०६२)को यस अभिलेखबाट यसवेला निर्मयदेवले महाराजाधिराजको रूपमा एकैले शासन गरिरहेका थिए भन्ने प्रमाणित हुन्छ । यसभन्दा एकवर्ष अघि चाहिँ गद्दीमा राजा उदयदेव थिए भन्ने कुरा तात्कालिक अभिलेखबाट थाहा पाइन्छ । यसको केही कालपछि निर्मयदेवको साथमा रुद्रदेव पनि संयुक्त रूपमा शासक हुन पुगेका देखिन्छन् । ने.सं. १२८ मा लेखिएको एक हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थबाट उक्त कुरा थाहा पाइन्छ । बाबु-कोरा, दाजु-भाई, काका-भतिजा समेतको 'द्वैराज्य' (संयुक्त शासन) सडा गर्ने जुन एक शासनपद्धति थियो; सो पद्धतिले यसताका नेपालको शासनव्यवस्थामा जरो गाडेको थियो भन्ने चर्चा पहिले गरिसकेको छ । द्वैराज्यको उल्लेख परेको ने.सं. १२८ को उक्त हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थमा निर्मयदेवको वर्णन गर्दा 'सुरसन्निभ' (देवता जस्ता) भन्ने विशेषण दिइएको छ^१ । यसबाट निर्मयदेव अलि सरल प्रकृतिका हुँदा यस ताका रुद्रदेवले अधिकार बढाएको आभास पाइन्छ । हुन पनि यस पछि निर्मयदेवको उल्लेख पाइँदैन; यसपछि उनको शासन समाप्त भएको बुझिन्छ ।

वंशावलीकारले उदयदेवपछि निर्मयदेवले राज्य गरे; उनको राज्यकाल ५ वर्ष जतिको रत्ती मनी लेखेका छन्^२ । अभिलेख र हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थबाट वंशावलीकारको उक्त वर्णन केही भिल्लो देखिएको छ ।

देवताकी पादपीठमा यो अभिलिख कुँदिरको हो तापनि कुन देवता स्थापना गरी यो अभिलिख कुँदाइएको हो; सो अहिले भन्न सकिँदैन । यो अभिलिख पाइएको ठाउँमा केही देवमूर्तिहरू भए अहिले पनि छन् । साथै संवत् ८० कुँदिरको लिच्छविकालको ढुङ्गाको ठूलो पात्रविशेष पनि यहाँ रहेको छ^{६४} । यसबाट यो ठाउँ लिच्छविकालदेखि नै विशेष देवस्थलको रूपमा रहेको थियो भन्ने सक्ति पाइन्छ । पछि यहाँ भैरव स्थापना भएपछि यो स्थल भैरवस्थानको रूपमा अझ प्रसिद्ध हुन पुगेको देखिन्छ ।

लिच्छविकालका अभिलिखमा भवनपुरभैरवलाई 'सोप्रिडो' ग्राम भनिएको पाइन्छ । 'प्रिडो' यो 'ग्राम'लाई बुझाउने किरात प्ररिवारको भाषाको शब्द हो । जोलिप्रिडो, लसुप्रिडो, याप्रिडो आदि 'प्रिडो' शब्द जोडिएका ग्रामहरूको उल्लेख लिच्छविकालका अभिलिखमा धेरै पाइन्छ^{६५} । 'सो' शायद भातलाई कहने शब्द थियो । जसको आधारमा पछि संस्कृतमा रूपान्तर गरी 'भवन्ग्राम' भनिएको हो कि भन्ने अनुमान हुन्छ । किन भने यसरी अनुवादको रूपमा संस्कृत नामान्तर गर्ने चलन त्यस ताका थियो । जे होस; 'सोप्रिडो'को अपभ्रंश भई वर्तमान 'खवर्पे' हुन पुगेको हो ।

लिच्छविकालका र त्यसपछिका अभिलिख आदि ऐतिहासिक सामग्री केलाई हेर्दा यी भवनपुर शहरको विकास क्रमशः भएको हामी पाउँछौं । 'सोप्रिडो'को उल्लेख सर्वप्रथम हामी मान-देवको पालाको देउपाटनको अभिलिखमा पाउँछौं^{६६} । त्यहाँ एक ग्रामको रूपमा सोप्रिडोको उल्लेख आएको छ । अशुर्माको समयमा पुग्दा सोप्रिडोले 'द्रुडो' को रूप लिइसकेको थियो । यो कुरा भवनपुर गौलमाढीढोलीको अभिलिखबाट थाहा पाइन्छ^{६७} । पछि मध्यकालको शुल्मा आरर ललि-पुरले जस्तै भवनपुरले पनि एक विकसित शहरको रूप लिन थाल्यो र आनन्ददेवको पालादेखि राजधानीको रूपमा यसको विकास भयो ।

यो अभिलिख रासिको ताका (वि.सं. १०६२तिर) यस शहरको विकास केही भइसकेको सक्ति यस अभिलिखबाट पाइन्छ । यहाँ शिवगुल-उचरटोलीको उल्लेख आएको छ । उचरटोलीको यस उल्लेखले दक्षिणटोलीको पनि अस्तित्वलाई प्रकारान्तरले सक्ति गर्छ । यसै गरी अरू टोलीको अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ ।

यस अभिलिखमा देवस्थलको लागि बाह्र 'मानि' धान आउने जग्गा गुठी रासिको उल्लेख परेको छ । 'मानि' यो शब्द लिच्छविकालका अभिलिखमा देखिएको अनाजको नापीलाई बुझाउने प्रसिद्ध शब्द 'मानिका'भै हो भन्ने देखिन्छ^{६८} । लिच्छविकालका अभिलिखमा पनि यसलाई 'मानि' मात्र भनिएको पाइन्छ; साथै कौटकीमा 'मा' मात्र भनिएको पनि पाइन्छ । यसकारण यस अभिलिखमा प्रयुक्त 'मानि' शब्द उही अनाजको नापीलाई बुझाउने पारिभाषिक शब्द हो भन्ने देखिन्छ । पछि मध्यकालको उत्तरार्धमा गएर यो शब्द प्रचलित हुन कोइयो ।

(४ संख्या)

पाटन गचाननीको अभिलिख

लल्लिपुर त्यागल्लोल गचाननीभित्र शिवपरिवारको मूर्ति छ । त्यस मूर्तिको जलहरीमा यो अभिलिख कुँदिएको छ । यसको अभिलिख कुँदिएको भाग ३१ अङ्गुल लम्बा, ६ अङ्गुल चौडा छ । यहाँ संवत् १३२ रहेको छ ।

संशोधन-मण्डल्लारा 'अभिलिख-संग्रह' नवीं भागको २४-२५ पृष्ठमा यो कापिएको छ ।

मूलपाठ

१. ॐ स्वस्ति कैलासवास सिरसि त्रिपथाश्चन्द्र(मा)ङ्ककपालः
भाति कर्णौ मुजङ्ग० फणिमणिकिरण कण्ठशिल्कालं -
२. कूटः प्रेम्नास्वज्य मुसिन्दु ह्मिगिरिस्तन्या वामपार्श्वे निधाय ।
सैनानी नृत्यरावणपतिप्रमथः पातु वः चन्द्रमौलिः ।
राज्य पुण्यमलङ्कृत यशनि-
३. धिः श्रीरुद्रदेवो नृपः । साधुभ्रातृजपुत्र धर्मणिरतिश्रीभीजदेवोपिराट् ।
तावती शशिभास्करोष्मतिथी सन्दर्शकालेहनि नेपाले
४. गहणारविन्दकुमुदश्रीलालिताम्बे पुरे ॥ अथ तेग्वलस्थानस्य भूत्वा
पीरन्दरन्दिशि । भगवच्छ्रीशङ्करसमीपे गणैः साद्वै शिलामय ॥
५. तत्र प्रवरसुद्धात्मा वेङ्गसाशितिति धर्मभाक् । प्रतिष्ठा देवदेवस्य
चक्र कीर्तिजिगीषया । मया निर्व्वर्त्तितमपिण्डप्रत्यर्थी ये दिवङ्गताः ।
६. ज्ञात्वा ते रुद्रमायाता अनुवरफलाप्तये ॥ राजा भवतु तेजस्वी ।
पृथिवी सस्यसम्पदाः । अरोग्य सर्व्वसत्त्वानान्यन्यसन्तान मे स-
७. दा ॥ सम्वत् १३२ प्रथमाशाढशुक्लदिवात्रीयोदश्याम्बृहस्पतिदिने
मैत्रनन्दानन्देव प्रतिष्ठितमिति

अनुवाद

कल्याण होस् । जो कैलासमा बस्छन्; जसको शिरमा गङ्गाजी र निधारमा चन्द्रमा छन्;
जसको कानमा फणाको मणि चम्किरहेको सर्प छ; जसको घाटीमा कालकूट विराट् छ; जो आफ्नी
बायाँपट्टि रहेकी पार्वतीलाई प्रेमपूर्वक अंगालेर बसेका छन्; स्वामिकार्तिक, नाञ्च लागेका गणेश र
प्रमथगणसहित भएका महादेवले तिमीहरूलाई रक्षा गरून् ।

नेपालराज्यमा धर्मात्मा, कीर्ति फैल्लिका राजा रुद्रदेव हुनुहुन्छ; उहाँका भतिजा,
सज्जन, धर्मात्मा श्रीभीजदेव पनि राजा हुनुहुन्छ । औसीको दिनमा चन्द्र र सूर्य सँगै रहे जस्तै
उहाँ दुइजना सँगै रही मिलेर शासन गरिरहनुभएको छ ।

शुद्ध मन भएका, धर्मात्मा वेङ्गसासिंहले कीर्ति फैलियोस् भनी ठूलठूला कमलपीसरीहरू
भएको लल्लिपुर शहरमा, तेग्वल (त्यागल) टोलको पूर्वतिर गणाहरू सहितका श्रीशङ्करसमी
(उमामहेश्वर)को झुङ्गाको मूर्तिको प्रतिष्ठा गरे ।

मैले दिएको पिण्ड सानै पितृहरू जो छन्; (महादेव प्रतिष्ठाको यो कुरा) थाहा पाएर,
उत्तम फल पाई उनीहरूको रुद्रलीकमा वास होस् ।

राजाको प्रताप बढीसु; पृथ्वी अनाजले भरिभराउन होसु; सबै प्राणीहरू निरोगी रहनु; मेरा सन्तानहरू सधैं भाग्यमानी होउन् ।

ने.सं.१३२ (वि.सं. १०६६) प्रथम आषाढ शुक्ल त्रयोदशी बृहस्पतिवार अनुराधा नक्षत्रमा देवताको प्रतिष्ठा गरिएको हो ।

व्याख्या -

उमामहेश्वर (शिवपरिवार)को मूर्तिको पादपीठमा कुंदिएको यो अभिलेख यस ताकाका उपयोगी अभिलेखमध्ये पर्दछ । यस ताका विद्याको स्तर गिरिएको थियो भन्ने चर्चा पहिले गरिसकेको छ । यस अभिलेखमा प्रयुक्त संस्कृत पद्यहरू विचार गर्दा पनि उक्त कुराको पुष्टि हुन्छ । बल्ल तल्ल भावसम्म बुझाउने अशुद्ध संस्कृतमा यो अभिलेख कुंदिएको छ । तर तात्कालिक धार्मिक र राजनितिक अवस्थाको अलिकता भएकै दिन भनि यो अभिलेख समर्थ छ । यस कारण यस अभिलेखको केही महत्त्व रहेको छ ।

शिव र पार्वतीको संयुक्त रूपमा उपासना गर्ने चलन लिच्छविकाली प्रचलित भइसकेको थियो । तर मध्यकालको शुद्धमा आएसँगै शिव र पार्वतीको साथै कुमार र गणेशलाई समेत सम्मिलित गराई 'शिवपरिवार'को रूपमा उपासना गर्ने चलन बढी रल्यो । यस ताका काठमाडौँ-उपत्यकाभित्र मात्र होइन, उपत्यकाबाहिर पनि शिवपरिवारका मूर्तिहरू हामी भेटाउँछौं । उदाहरणार्थ गोरखा हूमा भन्ज्याङमा रहेको उमामहेश्वरको मूर्तिलाई ओल्याउन सकिन्छ । उपत्यकाभित्र त 'शिवपरिवार'का मूर्ति प्रशस्त पाइन्छन् । तिनमध्ये मितितिथिसहितको यो मूर्ति पनि एक हो । महादेव, पार्वती, स्वामिकार्तिक र गणेश आफू आफूना सिद्धान्तमा भिन्न रूपका छन् तापनि संयुक्त रूपमा मिलेर रहँदा एक सुखी आदर्श-परिवारको रूपमा देखापर्छन् भन्ने भएकाले प्रवास ती मूर्तिहरूमा गरिएको पाइन्छ । यस ताका संयुक्त परिवार प्रथा समाजमा भन्नु बलियो हुँदै गइरहेको हुनाले पनि संयुक्त रूपमा 'शिवपरिवार'को उपासना गर्ने भावना प्रबल भएको बुझिन्छ ।

नेपालमा गणेशको पूजा अनेक रूपमा गरिन्छ । 'नासःघे' (नृत्येश्वर)को रूपमा पनि यहाँ गणेशपूजा हुन्छ । यसको शुरुआत मध्यकालको शुद्धमा भइसकेको संकेत यस अभिलेखले दिन्छ । यस अभिलेखमा गणेशको विशेषण 'नृत्यराव' भन्ने दिइएको छ । साथै अरू गणका साथ नाच्न लागेका गणेशको चित्रण यस मूर्तिमा गरिएको छ । माथि गरेको पाटन घाँबुको शिवपरिवारको मूर्तिमा पनि नाच्न लागेका गणेशको चित्रण गरिएको छ ।

मध्यकालको शुद्धमा अन्त्यसम्म नै भनि जस्तै नेपालको राजकाजमा असर पारेको 'झैराज्य' शासनपद्धतिको अलिकता भएकै यस अभिलेखबाट पाइन्छ । यस अभिलेखमा राजाका रूपमा रुद्रदेव र भोजदेवको चर्चा परेको छ । यी रुद्रदेव र भोजदेव काका भतिजा हुन् भन्ने कुरा पनि यस अभिलेखबाट थाहा पाइन्छ । औसीको दिन सूर्य र चन्द्र जस्तरी सँगै रहन्छन्; त्यसै गरी रुद्रदेव र भोजदेवले सँगै रही शासन चलाइरहेका छन् भन्ने वर्णन पनि यस अभिलेखमा परेको छ । 'झैराज्य' शासनपद्धतिको आदर्श नै यो थियो । चन्द्र र सूर्य मिलेर रहे जस्तै बाबु कौरा, दाजु माइ, काका भतिजा अदिले मिली संयुक्त रूपमा शासन चलाएपछि अधिकार हात लाउन गरिने ण्ड्यन्त्रले कम स्थान पाउँछ र यो बलियो हुन्छ भन्ने भावना यस पद्धतिमा रहेको थियो । तर झैराज्यपद्धतिले मध्यकालको नेपालको राजकाजमा कमजोरी नै बढी ल्याएको देखापरेको छ । यसबाट शासनात्मक स्थिरता आउन सकेन । यस कुराको विशेष चर्चा माथि गरिसकेको छ ।

यस अभिलिखमा मौजदेवलाई रुद्रदेवका 'म्रातृजपुत्र' भनी लेखिएको छ । यस शब्दको अर्थ भतिजा अथवा नाति दुवै हुन सक्छ । श्री लुशियानी पेटक आदिले यस शब्दको आधारमा मौज-देवलाई रुद्रदेवका नाति भनिर लेखेको छ । तर प्रसिद्ध विचार ग-यो भनि उनी रुद्रदेवका भतिजा नै हुन् भन्ने देखिन्छ । कनीकुथी बनाइएको पय मिलाउन मात्र सो पद प्रयोग गरिएको हो । रुद्रदेवलाई भिचर मौजदेव एकैले नै अगाडि बढेको पनि देखिएकोले नाति भए कच्चे उमेरकाले यसो गर्नु सम्भव देखिदैन ।

लिच्छविकालका अभिलिखमा 'लल्लिपुर' उल्लेख पाइँदैन । यूपग्रामद्धा अन्तर्गतका अनेक ग्रामहरू मिलेर 'लल्लिपुर' शहरको विकास भएको हो । अहिलेसम्म पाइएका अभिलिखमा 'लल्लिपुर' को स्पष्ट उल्लेख सर्वप्रथम यस अभिलिखमा भएको देखिएको छ । यद्यपि यसभन्दा केही अघिको पाटन नाम्नुको न.सं. १०७ को अभिलिखमा 'लल्लि' महादेवको चर्चा आएको हुनाले 'लल्लिपुर' संज्ञा पहिले नै रहिसकेको सक्ति पाइन्छ । यस अभिलिखमा लल्लिपुरको वर्णन गर्दा 'गहणारविन्दकुमुद' भनिएको हुनाले कमलपोखरी आदि कुराले समणीय हुँदा 'लल्लिपुर' भन्ने संज्ञा रहेको आभास पाइन्छ ।

शिवपरिवारको यो मूर्ति रहेको ठाउँलाई हाल 'त्यागलटोल' भनिन्छ । यो लल्लिपुरको पूर्वभागमा रहेको छ । यस अभिलिखमा यो ठाउँलाई 'तेग्वलस्थान' भनिएको छ । लिच्छविकालका अभिलिखमा पान्वालीहरूको प्रसङ्गमा यस भेकको एक पान्वालीको नाम 'तेग्वलपान्वाली' भन्ने आएको छ । प्रत्येक ग्राममा एक पान्वाली रहन नियम त्यस बेला थियो । यसबाट लिच्छविकालमा तेग्वल एक ग्रामको रूपमा थियो । पछि ग्रामसमूह मिली 'लल्लिपुर' शहरको विकासभएपछि तेग्वल ग्रामले तेग्वल (त्यागल) टोलको रूप लिएको देखिन्छ । यसै गरी लिच्छविकालको थम्बूग्राम आदिले थम्बूटोल आदि रूप लिएको उदाहरण पनि पाइन्छ ।

मध्यकालको प्रामाणिक प्रस्तस्मूर्तिको दृष्टिले पनि यस शिवपरिवारको मूर्तिको केही महत्त्व रहेको छ । पाटन घाँयबुको शिवपरिवारको मूर्ति जस्तै यो मूर्ति पनि सुन्दर नै छ । यस ताका विद्याको स्तर केही गिरेको देखिएको छ तापनि कलाकारिताको स्तर चाहिँ गिरेको थिएन भन्ने कुरा यी मूर्तिहरूले देखाउँछन् ।

यसै गरी यस अभिलिखबाट शैवधर्मको दर्शनपदामा आएको केही अन्तर, तात्कालिक लोकधारणा आदिबारे पनि केही सक्ति पाइन्छ ।

(परिशिष्ट)

संदिप्त गोपाल-राजवंशावली

वैज्ञानिक ढङ्गले कार्य, कारण, परिणाम आदि कुराको विविचनासहितको इतिहास लेखन परम्परा हाम्रो यहाँ उहिले थिएन तापनि राजाहरूका नाम, क्रम, राजपरिवर्तन आदि केही प्रमुख घटनाको वर्णन पारी 'वंशावली' संग्रह गर्ने परम्परा भने हामीकहाँ उहिलेदेखि थियो । अहिले पाइएका यस्ता वंशावलीहरूमा स्थितिमल्लको ताका (विष्णुको पन्ध्रौँ शताब्दीको पूर्वार्धमा) संग्रह गरिएको 'गोपाल-राजवंशावली' को निकै ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व रहेको छ । गोपालवंशी राजाहरूको पालादेखिको वर्णन त्यस वंशावलीमा परेको हुनाले पछि सो नामकरण गरिएको हो । त्यसमा दुइ सण्ड छन् । पहिलो सण्डमा गोपालवंशी राजाहरूदेखि स्थितिमल्लहरूको पालासम्मको संदिप्त वंशावली नाममात्रको संस्कृतमा लेखिएको छ । दोस्रो सण्डमा 'स्वस्ति भूतवृत्तान्त च शृणु' (अब भएका घटनाहरू पनि सुन) भनी प्रमुख घटनाको वर्णन तिथिमितिसहित तात्कालिक भवारीमा टिप्पिएको छ । नेपालका शुद्धेक्षिका राजाहरूबारे विचार गर्न पहिलो सण्ड पनि केही उपयोगी छ तापनि तात्कालिक कुरा बुझ्न दोस्रो सण्डको ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व भने निकै रहेको छ । यसरी मध्यकालको कुरा बुझ्न उपयोगी ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीहरूमा गोपालवंशावलीको पनि प्रमुख स्थान रहेको छ ।

स्थितिमल्लपछि पनि 'संदिप्त गोपालवंशावली' तयार गर्ने परम्परा जारी रही । विभिन्न समयमा संकलित यस्ता संदिप्त गोपालवंशावली अनेक पाइएका छन् । माथिल्लो भाग प्रायः गरी मूल गोपालवंशावलीकै शैलीमा राखी तल्लो भाग चाहिँ थप्ने गरको हामी तिनमा पाउँछौं । यस्तो संदिप्तवंशावली प्रायः संस्कृतमै लेखिएको बढी पाइन्छ । उही स्रोतको आधारमा संकलित भए पनि प्रत्येक प्रतिमा केही न केही विशिष्टता रहेको पाइने हुनाले तुलनात्मक अध्ययन गर्न तिनको पनि स्वतः उपयोगिता रहेको पाइन्छ । श्रीलुशियानी पेट्रुल केशर-पुस्तकालयमा रहेको संदिप्त गोपालवंशावली प्रकाशमा ल्याउनुभएपछि सो निकै उपयोगी ठहरियो^{१६} । तर सो अपूरो छ । हालै त्यस्तै अर्को पूरा संदिप्त गोपालवंशावली प्राप्त भएको छ^{१००} । यो वंशावली गोरखामा पाइएको हुनाले यसको विशिष्टता अझ बढी रहेको छ । गोरखामा पनि गोपालवंशावलीकै परम्परामा वंशावली लेख्न लाग्ने परम्पराको अनुसरण गरिएको सक्ति यसबाट पाइन्छ । अर्को कुरा यस संदिप्त वंशावलीमा उल्लिखित केही कुरा नीला छन् । उदाहरणार्थ प्रसिद्ध लिच्छवि राजा मानदेवसम्बन्धी यहाँ परेको वर्णनलाई लिन सकिन्छ । मानदेवसम्बन्धी त्यस्तो उल्लेख पहिले अन्त देखिएको थिएन । यसै गरी ठाउँ ठाउँमा अन्त पनि केही विशिष्टता यस वंशावलीमा परेको छ । यस कारण परिशिष्टको रूपमा यस वंशावलीलाई यहाँ समावेश गरिएको हो । यसबाट पाठकलाई मध्यकालबारे विचार गर्न पनि केही मदत हुन्छ ।

मूलपाठ

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१. ॐ नमः । श्रीपशुपतये ॥ ॥ क्रमेण वर्तमाने कलियुगे समस्तभूपालो लिमालाचरणाम्बुजस्यः
रा -
२. जा श्रीमतः पृथिव्यस्थिता राजा हिमवतः शैलमध्यैवर्षिणि महारथिभूतमण्डले भृगारेश्वर,
भट्टारक प्रादुर्भू -
३. तः तदनु गौतमादिभिः कृष्णिगणैस्तत्र गौतमेश्वरादयो देवाः प्रतिष्ठिता अन्तरे
भृगारेश्वर भट्टारक शैलमा -

४. न्तकवेन विहरति स्म ॥ नेपनामा गोपाली वभूव तस्य कपिलावी वाग्मतीवेगत्वा तया किरपास्या
५. संसितेन मूप्रदेशे श्रीमान्पशुपति प्रगासित, तेन नेपनाम्ना गोपालेन पशुपति प्रतिष्ठा कृतः ॥ त -
६. त परेन गोपालवशानी क्रमेण राज्य भुजित ॥ तत्राप्य राजा श्रीभूमागह वर्ष ८४ राजा श्रीजयगु -
७. प्त वर्ष ७३ मास ३॥ राजा श्रीपद्मगुप्त वर्ष ६१॥ राजा श्रीहर्षगुप्त ६७॥ राजा श्रीभिमगुप्त वर्ष ३८॥ राजा श्रीमनीगुप्त वर्ष ३७॥ रा-
८. जा श्रीविष्णुगुप्त वर्ष ४६॥ राजा श्रीजयगुप्त वर्ष ७९ मा १॥ एकमष्टौ श्रीगोपाल-
राजानः । तत गोपा -
९. लान् निर्जित्य महि(ष्)पाल क्रमेण राज्यप्रतिपालनायः राजा श्रीवरसिंह वर्ष ४६॥ राजा श्रीजयसिंह

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१. वर्ष २१ मास ७॥ राजा श्रीभुवनसिंह वर्ष ४१ ॥ एते नु गोपाल महि(ष्)पाला राजानी भवति ॥ ॥ तत
२. पश्चात्सर्व्वकिरातराजा प्रवृत्त ॥ राजा श्रीरत्न वर्ष ६० राजा श्रीपद्म वर्ष ७९ मास ३ ॥ राजा श्रीधरसक व-
३. र्ष ३७ ॥ राजा श्रीवल्लभ वर्ष ३१ मास ६ ॥ राजा श्रीहृति वर्ष ४१ मास १ ॥ राजा श्रीलुमति वर्ष ५०॥ रा-
४. जा श्रीतुस्क वर्ष ४१ मास ८ ॥ राजा श्रीशुपस्थ वर्ष ३८ मास ६॥ राजा श्रीपर्व वर्ष ५६ ॥ राजा श्रीजित्य
५. दास्ति वर्ष ६० ॥ राजा श्रीपद्म वर्ष ७९ ॥ राजा श्रीकर्क वर्ष ५६ ॥ राजा श्रीस्वन्द वर्ष ५० मास ८ ॥
६. राजा श्रीधुको वर्ष ५८॥ राजा श्रीगीघृ वर्ष ६० मास २॥ राजा श्रीजन्य वर्ष ७३ मास २ राजा श्रीलुर्क वर्ष
७. ६० मास १ राजा श्रीधीर वर्ष ७९ ॥ राजा श्रीधीक्को वर्ष ८३॥ राजा श्रीवर्म वर्ष ७३ मास ६ ॥ राजा श्री-
८. गुज वर्ष ७२ मास ७ राजा श्रीपूस्क वर्ष ८१ ॥ राजा श्रीत्यस्तु वर्ष ५६ ॥ राजा श्रीभुग्न वर्ष ५८ ॥ राजा
९. श्रीसस वर्ष ६३ ॥ राजा श्रीगुन वर्ष ७४ ॥ राजा श्रीसिन्धु वर्ष ७४ ॥ राजा श्रीगलिज वर्ष ८१ ॥ एते कि-

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१. रातराजान ॥ ॥ अथान्तरे सूर्यवत्सीत्पति कथ्यते ॥ कल्पाति भावद्विष्णुनाभि-
कमलोद्भवो ब्राह्म
२. प्रादुर्भूत ॥ ब्रह्मन् पुत्र मरीची । मरिचि पुत्र कश्यप ॥ कश्यपस्य पुत्रो भावा सूर्यः ॥ सूर्यस्य पुत्रो मनु ॥
३. मनो पुत्र काकूत्थ ॥ काकूत्थस्य पुत्र वेणुः ॥ वेणो पुत्र पूष्प ॥ पूष्पपुत्र अनन्य ॥ अनन्यस्य पुत्रो पृथु ॥
४. पृथूपुत्र स्त्रिशकर ॥ स्त्रीशकरस्य पुत्रो धुधिमर ॥ धुधिमरस्य पुत्रः पवनास्व ॥ पवनास्वपुत्र माधा-

५. ता ॥ माधातास्य पुत्री सुसंधि ॥ सुसंधिस्य पुत्री धृतिसंधि ॥ धृतिसंधिस्य पुत्र भरत ॥ भरतस्य पुत्री
६. अस्ति ॥ अस्तित्स्य पुत्र सगर ॥ सगरस्य पुत्र अश्वमेज ॥ अश्वमेजस्य पुत्री अशुमान ॥ अशुमानस्य
७. पुत्री दिलीप ॥ दिलीपस्य पुत्री मगिरथ ॥ मगिरथस्य पुत्री ककुत्स्थ ॥ ककुत्स्थ पुत्री रघु ॥ रघुस्य
८. पुत्री कल्याणपाद ॥ कल्याणपादस्य पुत्री संखने ॥ संखनेस्य पुत्री समुद्रसेन ॥ समुद्रसेनस्य पुत्री अ-
९. ग्नीवर्ण ॥ अग्नीवर्णस्य पुत्री श्रीगर्ग ॥ श्रीगर्गस्य पुत्री पशुसूत ॥ पशुसूतस्य पुत्री अम्बरीण ॥ अ

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१. म्बरीणस्य पुत्री नहुष ॥ न(हु)षस्य पुत्री वनाभाग ॥ वनाभागस्य पुत्री अज ॥ अजस्य पुत्री मगी-
२. रथ ॥ मगीरथस्य पुत्री दशरथः ॥ दशरथस्य पुत्र राम ॥ रामस्य पुत्र लवकुशौ ॥ लवकुशस्य पुत्र
३. स्यात् ॥ एते अजीध्यानृपा वति ॥ ॥ अत पर इक्ष्वाकूवसि ॥ वीसाल ॥ विसाल पुत्रः हेमचन्द्र ॥ हे-
४. मचन्द्रस्य पुत्र सुचन्द्र ॥ सुचन्द्रस्य पुत्र धूमा ॥ धूमास्य पुत्र सृज्य ॥ सृज्यस्य पुत्री सुवर्णति ॥
५. सुवर्णतिस्य पुत्री कृशाश्वः ॥ कृशाश्वस्य पुत्र सीमदत्त ॥ सीमदत्तस्य पुत्री वंशजन्मज्यः वंशज-
६. न्मज्यस्य पुत्री प्रमिति ॥ प्रमितिपुत्री मतिमान् ॥ मतिमानस्य पुत्री वसि ॥ वसि पुत्री ॥ एते नृप
७. विमाननगरी अवतार्युर्ष्य सूर्यवश भगवान् बभूवु ॥ ॥ अथ नेपाले किरातप्रवेश पून किरातान्
८. विनिर्जित्य ॥ राजा श्रीनिमिषित काल वर्ष ५० ॥ राजा श्रीमता रात्र वर्ष ६१ ॥ राजा श्रीकाकवर्मा वर्ष
९. ७६ ॥ राजा श्रीषष्ठपुष्पदेव वर्ष ५६ ॥ अनेन नेपालभूमि चातुर्वर्णमयि कृता ॥ राजा श्री-

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१. मास्करवर्मा वर्ष ७४ ॥ राजा श्रीभूमिवर्मा वर्ष ४१ ॥ राजा श्रीचन्द्रवर्मा वर्ष २१ ॥ राजा श्रीजयवर्मा वर्ष ६२ ॥
२. राजा श्रीवर्षवर्मा वर्ष ५७ ॥ राजा श्रीसर्ववर्मा वर्ष ४८ ॥ राजा श्रीपृथिविवर्मा वर्ष ५६ ॥ राजा श्रीषष्ठव-
३. र्मा वर्ष ४८ ॥ राजा श्रीकृषिवर्मा वर्ष ६४ ॥ राजा श्रीहरीवर्मा वर्ष ७६ ॥ राजा श्रीसिद्धिवर्मा वर्ष ६१ ॥ रा-
४. जा श्रीहरीदत्तवर्मा वर्ष २६ ॥ राजा श्रीवसुदत्तवर्मा ३३ ॥ राजा श्रीसिरीपति वर्मा वर्ष ३ ॥ राजा श्रीवृ-
५. द्धिवर्मा वर्ष ७७ ॥ राजा श्रीवशन्तदेववर्मा वर्ष ६१ ॥ राजा श्रीपुष्पदेववर्मा वर्ष ५६ ॥ राजा श्रीमास्कर-

६. देव वर्ष ७४ ॥ राजा श्रीभूमिवर्मा वर्ष ५१ ॥ राजा श्रीचन्द्रवर्मा २१ ॥ राजा श्रीजय-
वर्मा वर्ष ६७ ॥ राजा श्री-
७. वर्ष वर्मा वर्ष ५५ ॥ राजा श्रीसर्ववर्मा वर्ष ४८ राजा श्रीपृथिवर्मा वर्ष ७६ ॥ रा-
जा श्रीजिष्ठवर्मा वर्ष ६८ ॥
८. राजा श्रीकुबेरवर्मा वर्ष ७५ ॥ राजा श्रीहरीवर्मा वर्ष ४६ ॥ राजा श्रीसिद्धिवर्मा वर्ष
६१ ॥ राजा श्रीहरिद-
९. र्वर्मा वर्ष २६ ॥ राजा श्री(व)सुदरवर्मा वर्ष ३३ ॥ राजा श्रीपतिवर्मा ३५ ॥ राजा
श्रीसिववृद्धिवर्मा वर्ष ७७ ॥

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१. राजा श्रीवसन्तदेववर्मा वर्ष ६१ राजा श्रीशिवदेववर्मा वर्ष ५७ ॥ राजा श्रीवृषदेववर्मा
वर्ष ५७ ॥ तेन
२. सांगु महाचित्र भट्टारकाय प्रतिष्ठित ॥ ॥ राजा श्रीशंकरदेव वर्ष ५० ॥ राजा श्रीधर्म-
देव वर्ष ५१ ॥ ॥
३. तत अवसज प्रतिपाल्ति पुत्र ॥ राजा श्रीमानदेव वर्ष ३६ ॥ सुसस्ततहिन ॥ मानविहाराश्च
॥ राजाश्री-
४. धानि मानगृहं समपरमसमेतं दिर्घिकाद्रयशपूर्णं क्षुसावतमोदनधारविष्ठित ॥ राजा श्रीमहि-
५. देव वर्ष ५१ राजा श्रीवसन्तदेव वर्ष ५६ ॥ राजा श्रीउदयदेव वर्ष ४७ ॥ राजा श्री-
मनदेव वर्ष ४५ ॥ रा
६. जा श्रीगुणकामदेव वर्ष ५० ॥ राजा श्रीशिवदेव वर्ष ४१ मास ६ राजा श्रीसिवदेव वर्ष
४१ मा ६ ॥ राजा
७. श्रीनरेन्द्रदेव वर्ष ३४ ॥ तेन पशुपतिभट्टारकाय अनिकरत्नविचित्रकोषं संप्रदत्त ॥ राजा
श्रीभीमदेव
८. देव वर्ष १६ ॥ तत्परेन सूर्यवंश विनिर्जित्य पूनश्च गोपालवंश राज्यं करोति ॥ राजा
श्रीवि(जि)ष्णुगुप्त वर्ष ७४ ॥
९. राजा श्रीविष्णुगुप्त ६१ ॥ राजा श्रीभूमिगुप्त वर्ष ४५ ॥ ॥ भूयोपि सूर्यवंशी राज्यं
चकार ॥ राजा श्रीशिवदेव

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१. वर्ष ४१ ॥ तद्भूमिगुप्त राजा अशुवर्मा वर्ष ५३ ॥ तेन व्याकर्णादिशास्त्रश्च कृतवान्
तस्य राजा पुत्र श्रीमा-
२. न ततः गवदेश्वर आगतेन नेपाल व्याहार प्रतिष्ठितवान् कृत्य वर्ष १० ॥ राजा श्रीकृतवर्मा
वर्ष १८
३. ॥ राजा श्रीभिमार्जुनदेव वर्ष ३७ ॥ राजा श्रीनन्ददेव वर्ष १३ ॥ राजा श्रीशीवदेव
वर्ष १६ ॥ यथासुखि मिदाश्च
४. कृता सास्त्रदिश ॥ राजा श्रीनरीन्द्रदेव वर्ष ३३ ॥ राजा श्रीवलदेव वर्ष १७ ॥
राजा श्रीशंभारदेव वर्ष १२ ॥ राजा
५. श्रीवर्द्धमानदेव १६ ॥ राजा श्रीशंकरदेव वर्ष १२ ॥ राजा श्रीभिमार्जुन वर्ष १६ ॥
राजा श्रीजयदेव वर्ष १६ ॥ रा-
६. जा श्रीवलदेव वर्ष १६ ॥ पश्चात् भीष्मडले स्वराज्यं करोति ॥ राजा श्रीरुद्रदेव वर्ष
२७ ॥ तेन पुन भीष्मान्तप-

७. पूर्वतः निष्कण्डकराज्यं करोति । राजा श्रीजयदेव वर्ष ४२ मास ११ ॥ राजा श्रीवलदेव वर्ष ११ ॥ राजा श्रीवाला-
८. जैनदेव वर्ष ३६ मास ७ ॥ राजा श्रीमानदेव वर्ष ३६ ॥ तेन वल्वनादतवनीमी प्रतिष्ठित ॥ राजा श्रीराघ-
९. व वर्ष ६३ मा ८ ॥ राजा श्रीशंकरदेव वर्ष १८ मा ६ ॥ राजा श्रीसहदेव वर्ष ३३ मास ६ ॥ राजा श्रीविक्रमदे-

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१. व वर्ष १ ॥ राजा श्रीनरेन्द्रदेव वर्ष १ मा ६ ॥ राजा श्रीगुणकामदेव वर्ष ८५ मास ६ ॥ तेन पशुपति भट्टा-
२. रकाय एकादश कौण प्रदत्त ॥ राजा श्रीउदयदेव वर्ष ६ ॥ राजा श्रीनीर्मयदेव वर्ष ५ ॥ राजा श्रीभीमदेव ह-
३. द्रदेव वर्ष ६ मास ७ ॥ भीमदेवेन श्रीमण्डप विनाशिता ॥ राजा श्रीलक्ष्मीकामदेव वर्ष २१ ॥ तेन हि चैपट-
४. पश्चात्सहिते सवत्सरे नीधाने राष्ट्र सान्ति कृता ॥ जयदेव वर्ष ७० ॥ तेन हि लल्लिपूर अर्द्धराज्यं कृत्य वर्ष १० ॥
५. राजा श्रीभास्करदेव जयदेव उभयराजा वर्ष ७ मास ४ ॥ तेन हि भास्करदेवेन पित्रि मौलि कृत १० ॥ राजा श्रीव-
६. लदेव वर्ष १२ ॥ राजा श्रीपद्मदेव वर्ष ६ ॥ राजा श्रीनागार्जुनदेव वर्ष ३ ॥ राजा श्रीशंकरदेव वर्ष १७ ॥ तेन देवकु-
७. ल व पून कृत्य ॥ राजा श्रीवामदेव ३ ॥ हर्षदेव वर्ष १६ ॥ राजा श्रीवामदेव वर्ष ३ राजा श्रीहर्षदेव वर्ष १६ ॥
८. राजा श्रीशिवदेव वर्ष २७ मास ७ ॥ राजा श्रीइन्द्रदेव वर्ष १२ राजा श्रीमानदेव वर्ष ४ मास ७ ॥ राजा श्रीन-
९. रेन्द्रदेव वर्ष ६ मास ४ ॥ राजा श्रीनंददेव वर्ष २० ॥ सम्वत् २६७ पीण कृष्ण त्रयो शुक्रदिन श्रीरुद्र (श्रीनंद)

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१. देवपूष्पाभिषेकं कृतवान् ॥ राज्ये पूष्पाभिषेकात् तुणारवृष्टिश्च भवति ॥ राजा रुद्रदेव वर्ष ८ मा १ ॥
२. राजा श्रीमृतदेव वर्ष ३ मा ११ महादुर्मिहं भवति ॥ सम्वत् २६६ कार्तिक कृष्ण षष्टि शुक्रवार ॥ राजा श्रीसो-
३. मेश्वर वर्ष ६ मा ३ ॥ राजा श्रीविजयकामदेव वर्ष ५० मास ७ ॥ राजा श्रीअरीमल्ल- देव वर्ष ३१ मास ६ ॥ राजा
४. श्रीअभयमल्लदेव ४८ मा २ महामारी अनावृष्टि दुर्मिहा प्रजादाय भूमिकम्प कृत्रभा ॥ सम्वत् ३७५ आ-
५. णाड शुक्ल २ पूनर्वसु सोमवासरे ॥ राजा श्रीजयदेव वर्ष २ मास ७ ॥ राजा श्रीअनन्त- मल्लदेव वर्ष ३२ मा १० ॥
६. नेपाल यूवराजिनि विरमदेवीनां कृत्य सोमेश्वरनीम देव कृत पून चणु देवालय कृत ॥ ध्वजा रोहनं च ॥ पून इन्द्रकूट प्रतिष्ठित ध्वजारोहनं च ॥ जयशक्तिमति विरमदेवी ॥ तत्रा
७. न्तरे राजा ज-

८. यानन्ददेव वर्ष ॥ अन्तरे ज्यतिगमलस्य आत्मजः श्रीज्यल्लमल्लदेव प्रभूतिन स्वकूट-
९. वश्रीज्यारीमल्लदेव, पूष्पाभीषेकं कृत्य राजा मुक्तिमात्रं ददौ ॥ तत्रान्तरे आदित्यमल्ल
नेपा-

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१. ले प्रतिष्ठित ॥ सम्बत् ४४८ चैत्र शुक्ल पूर्णिमा लल्लिग्राम डड मवति ॥ तदन्तरे पूर्वा
शूतानागत ॥
२. अथ वसावलि लिख्यते ॥ ॥ नन्देन्दुशून्यशशि १०१६ सम्मतशाकवर्षे त श्रावनस्य धवल
मुनीति-
३. अथस्तात् । स्वात्पा शनिश्चरदिने रिप्मईलग्ने श्रीनान्यदेवनृपतिर्विदधित वास्तु ॥
प्रष्टा नान्य-
४. पतिर्व्वभुव तदनु श्रीगांगदेव नृप . तत्सूनुर्नरसिंहदेवनृपति श्रीरामसिंहस्ततः । तत्सूनुर्मव-
५. सिंहदेव उदित श्रीकर्म्मसिंहस्त . तत्सूनुर्हरसिंहदेवनृपति कणाटिचूडामनी ॥ वानाब्धियुग्म-
६. शशि १२४५ सम्मत शाकवर्षे पीणस्य शुक्लनवमि रविसुनूवारे ॥ त्यजवा स्वपट्टनपुर
हरसिंहदेवो
७. दुर्देवदेशितपथो थ गिरि विवेश ॥ तत्सूनु . जलधाविविन्दुरुदितो वल्लालसिंहस्ततो जातो
देव-
८. गणोपनीतमहिमा श्रीदेवमल्लो नृप . ॥ तस्याभूदथ नागमल्लनृपतिस्तस्यापि जातः
सुत ॥
९. प्रौद्यन्मूर्तिरशोकमल्लसुकृति प्रतापीनृप ॥ तस्यात्मजोजनि जयस्थितिमल्लदेव तस्मादभून्नर-
निधिर्जयय-

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१. दामल्ल । यो विश्वविश्रुतमहोग्तरप्रतापी धर्म्मनिर्मुक्तमतिरस्य च रायमल्ल तस्मादभून्भूवन्म-
२. ल्ल इति प्रशिद्ध . ॥ श्रीप्राणमल्ल वसुकल्पतरुस्ततोऽभूत् ॥ मार्तण्डवज्जनिरीतो जनि
विश्वमल्लस्त्रि-
३. लोक्यमल्लनृपतिः पुनरस्य पूत्र ॥ दारिद्र्यधिरिव चन्द्रमा किमु रवेत्यत्प्रभामडलं किं कर्ण
किम्
४. वार्जुणोजनि जगत्सारिद्धारिगुणि ॥ एतस्माद् विविधानवयविलसद्विद्यान्वित श्रीजगज्ज्योति-
र्मल्ल-
५. निद्रवृ(न्द) तिलकिभूताग्निपकिरुह ॥ तत्सुनु श्रीसुमतिजयजितामित्रमल्लालात्मज्जीभूपतिन्द्रमल्ल
६. तस्यात्मज श्रीरणजितमल्ल तेन वर्ष ४८ राज्यं कृतवान् आदौ शप्तकीशिक्यात् राज्यं
कृतवान् पश्चा-
७. त् वृद्धसमहे कास्मिरणा जात ॥ नेपालसम्बत् ८६० कार्तिक शुक्ल ११ एतस्मिन् दीपो
गौरक्षिय भूप
८. आदौ द्वादश सत्सगृह (मत्तपट्टनप्रवेश) ॥ सोमवंशोद्भव महाराजा श्री ५ पृथिविनारायण
साहवहा-
९. दुर सम्पेर जडोदेवेन श्रीरणजितमल्ल श्रीजयप्रगाशमल्लश्रीतेजनरसिंहमल्लभूपत्रय नीर्जि-

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१. त्य दाल्मण्डप लल्लिपट्टनभान्पट्टननगरत्रयाधिकृतवान् . अथ च शप्तकीशिकिशाप्तगडक्या-
२. तराज्यं कृतवान् . वहुर्राजा नीर्जित्य राज्यं कृतवान् वर्ष ५२ श्रीपृथिविनारायण साहस्य
पत्र श्रीसि-

३. हप्रतापसिंह साहब बहादुर सम्सेर जङ्गदेवेन वर्ष २ मास ११ राज्य कृतवान् . तत श्री शके १६६६
४. मार्गशिर्षकृष्णगृतृतियाया तस्य पुत्र श्रीरणवहादुरसाह सम्सेरजङ्गदेवेन श्रीहरकमारदत्तसे
५. आदौ नीर्जित्य कालिङ्गक्यांत ॥ सम्वत् १८४६ साल आषाढ शुदि १५ वाइस पण जुमिलाराज्य नि-
६. र्जित्य ॥ सम्वत् १८४७ पौष शुदि १० जाजर्कोट, थपला, दुल्लु, देलेण, अक्काम्, डोटि क्माउः
७. गङ्गवाल श्रीनार हरीद्वार तस्य दक्षिण गंगोत्री उतर वट्टि केदार इत्यंत राज्य निर्जित्य.

अनुवाद

श्रीपशुपतिलाई नमस्कार । अमेल कलियुग शुरू हुन थालेपछि सारा राजाहरूका शिरपिचका मालाले पाउ सिंगारिएका (राजाहरूले ढो गिएका) ठूला राजाहरूको राज्य चलन थाल्यो । त्यस बेला हिमालय पहाडको बीच भागमा रहेको, घना जङ्गल भएको भूण्डल्या (नेपाल-उपत्य-कामा) भूङ्गारेश्वर महादेवको प्रादुर्भाव भयो । अनि गौतम आदि कृष्णिहरूले त्यहाँ गौतमेश्वर आदि देवताहरू स्थापना गरे । अनि भूङ्गारेश्वर महादेव श्लेषान्तक वस्त्रा विहार गरी रहन लागे ।

‘नेप’ नाउँका गौपाल भए । तिनकी केली गाईले वाग्दतीको तीसमा गई दूधले सेचन गर्न लागी । दूधले सेचन गरिएको त्यस ठाउँमा श्रीपशुपतिनाथ प्रकट भए । ती नेप नाउँ गरिएका गौपालले पशुपतिको प्रतिष्ठा गरे । त्यसपछि गौपालवंशी राजाहरूले क्रमशः राज्य गरे । तिन्ना पहिला राजा श्रीभूमिगुप्त भए; वर्ष ८४ । राजा श्रीजयगुप्त; वर्ष ७३ महीना ३ । राजा श्रीपरमगुप्त; वर्ष ६१ राजा श्रीहर्षगुप्त; वर्ष ६७ । राजा श्रीभीमगुप्त; वर्ष ३८ । राजा श्रीमणिगुप्त; वर्ष ३७ । राजा श्रीविष्णुगुप्त; वर्ष ४६ ॥ राजा श्रीजयगुप्त; वर्ष ७१ महीना १ ।

यसरी आठजना गौपालवंशी राजा भए । त्यसपछि गौपालहरूलाई जितेर महिषपालहरूले राज्य चलाए । राजा श्रीवरसिंह; वर्ष ४६ । राजा श्रीजयसिंह; वर्ष २१, महीना ७ । राजा श्रीभवनसिंह; वर्ष ४१ ।

यति गौपाल, महिषपाल राजा भए । त्यसपछि किरातवंशी राजाहरू भए । राजा श्री रल; वर्ष ६० । राजा श्रीचमि ; वर्ष ७६, महीना ३ । राजा श्रीधस्क; वर्ष ३७ । राजा श्रीवल्लभ ; वर्ष ३१, महीना ६ । राजा श्रीद्वि; वर्ष ४१, महीना १ । राजा श्रीकुमति; वर्ष ५० । राजा श्रीतुस्क ; वर्ष ४१, महीना ८ । राजा श्रीश्रुपस्थ ; वर्ष ३८, महीना ६ । राजा श्रीपव ; वर्ष ५६ । राजा श्रीजित्तिदास्ति ; वर्ष ६० । राजा श्रीपच्य ; वर्ष ७१ । राजा श्रीक्यक्य ; वर्ष ५६ । राजा श्रीस्वन्द ; वर्ष ५०, महीना ८ । राजा श्रीधुको ; वर्ष ५८ । राजा श्रीगीपृ ; वर्ष ६०, महीना २ । राजा श्रीजन्य ; वर्ष ७३, महीना २ । राजा श्रील्लु ; वर्ष ६०, महीना १ । राजा श्रीथोर ; वर्ष ७१ । राजा श्रीथोक्को ; वर्ष ८३ ॥ राजा श्रीवर्म वर्ष ७३, महीना ६ । राजा श्रीगुज ; वर्ष ७२ महीना ७ । राजा श्रीपूस्क ; वर्ष ८१ । राजा श्रीत्यस्नु ; वर्ष ५६ । राजा श्रीभुर्म ; वर्ष ५८ । राजा श्रीसस ; वर्ष ६३ । राजा श्रीगन ; वर्ष ७४ । राजा श्रीसिबु ; वर्ष ७४ । राजा श्रीगलिज ; वर्ष ८१ ।

यति किरात राजाहरू भए । यसपछि सूर्यवंशी उत्पतिबारे बताइन्छ ।

प्रत्यक्षात्मा भगवान् विष्णुको नाइटीको कमलवाट ब्रह्माको प्रादुर्भाव भयो । ब्रम्हाका कोरा मरीचि भए । मरीचिका कोरा कश्यप भए । कश्यपका कोरा भगवान् सूर्य भए । सूर्यका कोरा मनु भए । मनुका कोरा ककुत्स्थ भए । ककुत्स्थका कोरा वेणु भए । वेणुका कोरा पुष्य भए । पुष्यका कोरा अनल्य भए । अनल्यका कोरा पृथु भए । पृथुका कोरा त्रिशङ्कर भए । त्रिशङ्करका कोरा धुन्धुमार भए । धुन्धुमारका कोरा पवनारव भए । पवनारवका कोरा मान्धा-
ता भए । मान्धाताका कोरा सुसन्धि भए । सुसन्धिको कोरा धृतिसन्धि भए । धृतिसन्धिको कोरा भरत भए । भरतका कोरा असित भए । असितका कोरा सगर भए । सगरका कोरा अस-
मन्ज भए । असमन्जका कोरा अशुमान् भए । अशुमान्का कोरा दिलीप भए । दिलीपको कोरा भगीरथ भए । भगीरथका कोरा ककुत्स्थ भए । ककुत्स्थका कोरा रघु भए । रघुका कोरा कल्पाण-
पाद भए । कल्पाणपादका कोरा शङ्खपाद भए । शङ्खपादका कोरा समुद्रसेन भए । समुद्रसेनका कोरा अग्निवर्ण भए । अग्निवर्णका कोरा श्रीगर्ग भए । श्रीगर्गका कोरा पशुश्रुत भए । पशुश्रुतका कोरा अम्बरीष भए । अम्बरीषका कोरा नहुष भए । नहुषका कोरा चनाभाग भए । चना-
भागका कोरा अज भए । अजका कोरा भगीरथ भए । भगीरथका कोरा दशरथ भए । दशरथका कोरा राम भए । रामका कोरा लव, कुश भए । लव र कुशका पनि सन्तान यसै गरी भए ।

यी अपोध्याका राजाहरू हुन् । अनि इक्ष्वाकु कुलमा विशाल भए । विशालका कोरा हेमचन्द्र भए । हेमचन्द्रका कोरा सुचन्द्र भए । सुचन्द्रका कोरा धूमाश्व भए । धूमाश्वका कोरा शृन्जय भए । शृन्जयका कोरा सुवर्णसिनि भए । सुवर्णसिनिका कोरा कृशाश्व भए । कृशाश्वका कोरा सोमदत्त भए । सोमदत्तका कोरा वंशजन्मैज्य भए । उनका कोरा प्रमिति भए । प्रमितिका कोरा मतिमान् भए । मतिमान्का कोरा ---

यी राजाहरू विशालनगरीमा भएका हुन् । अनि सूर्यवंशको प्रभावले नेपालमा किरात राजाहरूलाई जितेर (लिच्छविवंशका राजा भए ।) राजा श्रीनिमित्तकाल; वर्ष ५० । राजा श्रीमकरान्त; वर्ष ६१ । राजा श्रीकाकवर्मा; वर्ष ७६ । राजा श्रीसुपुष्पदेव; वर्ष ५६ । यिनले नेपालमा वर्णव्यवस्था चलाए । राजा श्रीभास्करवर्मा; ७४ वर्ष । राजा श्रीभूमिकवर्मा; वर्ष ५१ । राजा श्रीचन्द्रवर्मा; वर्ष २१ । राजा श्रीजयवर्मा; वर्ष ६७ । राजा श्रीवर्णवर्मा; वर्ष ५५ । राजा श्रीशर्ववर्मा; वर्ष ४८ । राजा श्रीपृथ्वीवर्मा; वर्ष ७६ । राजा श्रीज्येष्ठवर्मा; वर्ष ६८ । राजा श्रीकुबेरवर्मा; वर्ष ७५ । राजा श्रीहरिवर्मा; वर्ष ४६ । राजा श्रीसिद्धिवर्मा; वर्ष ६१ । राजा श्रीहरिदत्तवर्मा; वर्ष २६ । राजा श्रीवसुदत्तवर्मा; वर्ष ३३ । राजा श्रीपति; वर्ष ३५ । राजा श्रीशिववृद्धिवर्मा; वर्ष ७७ । राजा श्रीवसन्त-
देववर्मा; वर्ष ६१ । राजा श्रीशिवदेववर्मा वर्ष ५७ ।

राजा श्रीवृषदेववर्मा; वर्ष ५७ । तिनले स्वयम्भू महाक्षेत्र भट्टारकको प्रतिष्ठा गरे । राजा श्रीशंकरदेव; वर्ष ५० । राजा श्रीधर्मदेव; वर्ष ५१ । त्यसपछि त्यस वंशमा नजन्मैका (अर्कै कुलमा जन्मैका) धर्मपुत्र पाल्पिका राजा श्रीमानदेव भए; वर्ष ३६ । ... तिनले मानविहार बनाए । श्रीराजधानी रूपको मानगृह बनाए । मानगृह दुइटै ठूला पोखरी भएको, चारतिर... ले घेरिएको थियो । राजा श्रीमहीदेव; वर्ष ५१ । राजा श्रीवसन्तदेव; वर्ष ५६ । राजा श्री-
उदयदेव; वर्ष ४७ । राजा श्रीमनुदेव; वर्ष ४५ । राजा श्रीगुणकामदेव; वर्ष ५० । राजा श्रीसिद्धदेव; वर्ष ४१, महीना ६ । राजा श्रीनरेन्द्रदेव; वर्ष ३४ । तिनले पशुपतिनाथलाई अनेक रत्नहरू भएको विचित्रको कोण चढाए ।

१. मूला भास्करवर्मादिलि वसन्तदेववर्मा सम्मका राजाका नाम सार्नको असावधानीले गर्दा दोहरिका छन् । यहाँ अनुवादमा दोहरिका ती नाम छोडिएका छन् ।

त्यसपछि सूर्यवंशीलाई जितेर फेरि गौपालवंशीले राज्य गरे । राजा जिष्णुगुप्त वर्ष ७४ । राजा श्रीविष्णुगुप्त ; वर्ष ६१ । राजा श्रीभूमिगुप्त ; वर्ष ४५

अनि फेरि सूर्यवंशीहरूले राज्य गरे । राजा श्रीशिवदेव ; वर्ष ४१ । तिनका भानिज राजा अंशुवर्मा ; वर्ष ५३ । उनले व्याकरण आदि शास्त्र बनाए । उनका छोरा राजा श्रीमानवर्मा । त्यसपछि गौडका राजा नेपाल आई नेपालमा विहार स्थापना गरे ; उनको कार्यकाल १० वर्ष । राजा श्रीकृतवर्मा ; वर्ष १८ । राजा श्रीभीमार्जुनदेव ; वर्ष ३७ । राजा श्रीनन्ददेव ; वर्ष १३ । राजा श्रीशिवदेव ; वर्ष १६ । उनले भिदुहल्लालाई सुख दिई राखे । शास्त्रार्थ आदि पनि गराइयो । राजा नरेन्द्रदेव ; वर्ष ३३ । राजा श्री बलदेव ; वर्ष १७ । राजा श्रीशङ्करदेव ; वर्ष १२ । राजा श्रीवर्द्धमानदेव, वर्ष १६ । राजा श्रीशङ्करदेव ; वर्ष १२ । राजा श्रीभीमार्जुन ; वर्ष १६ । राजा श्रीजयदेव ; वर्ष १६ । राजा श्रीवलदेव ; वर्ष १६ । पछि उनले भोटमण्डलमा आफ्नी राज्य चलाए । राजा श्रीरुद्रदेव ; वर्ष २७ । उनले फेरि भोटान्तसम्म निष्कण्टक राज्य गरे । राजा श्रीजयदेव वर्ष ४२, महीना ११ । राजा श्रीवलदेव ; वर्ष ११ । राजा श्रीबालार्जुनदेव ; वर्ष ३६, महीना ७ । राजा श्रीमानदेव ; वर्ष ३६ । उनले बलवानाई तबन्मिको प्रतिष्ठा गरे ।

राजा श्रीराघवदेव ; वर्ष ६३, महीना ८ । राजा श्रीशङ्करदेव ; वर्ष १८, महीना ६ । राजा श्रीसहदेव ; वर्ष ३३, महीना ६ । राजा श्रीविक्रमदेव ; वर्ष १ । राजा नरेन्द्रदेव, वर्ष १, महीना ६ । राजा श्रीगुणकामदेव ; वर्ष ८५, महीना ६ । उनले पशुपतिनाथलाई सघाइ-वटा कोश चढाए । राजा श्रीउदयदेव ; वर्ष ६ । राजा श्रीनिर्मयदेव ; वर्ष ५ । राजा श्रीभीमदेव र रुद्रदेव ; वर्ष ६, महीना ७ । भीमदेवले श्रीमण्डप नाश गरे । राजा श्रीलक्ष्मीकामदेव ; वर्ष २१ । उनले सबै मा राष्ट्रमा शान्ति गरे । राजा जयदेव ; वर्ष ७० । उनले ललितपुर राज्यलाई आधा आधा पारे ; वर्ष १० । राजा श्रीभास्करदेव र जयदेव दुवै राजा भए ; वर्ष ७, महीना ४ । ती भास्करदेवले बाबुको शिरपेच बेचे । राजा श्रीबलदेव ; वर्ष १२ । राजा श्रीपद्मदेव ; वर्ष ६ । राजा श्रीनार्जुनदेव ; वर्ष ३ । राजा श्रीशंकरदेव ; वर्ष १७ । उनले देवमन्दिर पूरा बनाए । राजा श्रीवामदेव ; वर्ष ३ । राजा हर्षदेव ; वर्ष १६ । राजा श्रीशिवदेव वर्ष २७, महीना ७ । राजा श्रीइन्द्रदेव ; वर्ष १२ । राजा श्रीमानदेव ; वर्ष ४, महीना ७ । राजा श्रीनरेन्द्रदेव ; वर्ष ६, महीना ४ । राजा श्रीआनन्ददेव ; वर्ष २० । ने.सं. २६७ पीष्ठा कृष्ण त्रयोदशी शुक्रवारको दिन श्रीआनन्ददेवको पुष्पाभिषेक गरिएको हो । पुष्पाभिषेक गरिएको हुनाले राज्यमा तुषारो पयो । राजा श्रीरुद्रदेव ; वर्ष ८, महीना १ । राजा श्रीअमृतदेव वर्ष ३, महीना ११ । यिनको राज्यकालमा ठूलो अनिकाल पयो । ने.सं. २६६ मा उनको मृत्यु भयो । राजा श्रीसोमेश्वरदेव वर्ष ६, महीना ३ । राजा श्रीविजयकामदेव ; वर्ष ५०, महीना ७ ।

राजा श्रीअस्मिल्लदेव ; वर्ष ३१, महीना ६ । राजा श्रीअभयमल्लदेव ; वर्ष ४८, महीना २ । उनको राज्यकालमा महामारी फैल्यो ; पानीनपरी अनावृष्टि भयो ; अनिकाल पयो ; प्रजाहरू मरे ; भूकम्प भयो ; कुत्रभङ्गको सतरा भयो । ने.सं. ३७५ आषाढ शुक्ल द्वितीया सोमवार पुनर्वसु नदात्रमा । राजा श्रीजयदेव ; वर्ष २, महीना ७ । राजा श्रीअनन्तमल्लदेव ; वर्ष ३२, महीना १० । नेपालका युवराजकी पत्नी विरमदेवीले सोमेश्वरमन्दिर बनाउन लाइन् । फेरि चाँगुनारायणको मन्दिर बनाउन लाइन् ; र ध्वजा चढाइन् । फेरि इन्द्रकुटीको स्थापना गरिन् र ध्वजा चढाइन् । विरमदेवी जयशङ्कि आमा हुन् । त्यसपछि जयानन्ददेव राजा भए । वर्ष ... । पछि जयतुङ्गमल्लका छोरा श्रीजयरुद्रमल्लदेवले आफ्नी

प्रभुत्वद्वारा आफूना नातेदार श्रीज्यासिमल देवलाई पुष्पाभिषेक गराई राजालाई भोग मात्र दिए ; सारा शासनाधिकार आफूनी हातमा लिए ।

त्यसपछि नेपाल उपत्यकामा आदित्यमल पसे ; ने.सं. ४४८ चैत्र शुक्ल पूर्णिमाको दिन लल्लिपुसमा दण्ड गरियो । (दण्डको रूपमा प्रजासंग पैसा उठाइयो ।) यसपछि पूर्वतिरबाट सुल्तान शमसुदिन नेपालमा पसे ।

अब वंशावली लेखिन्छ । शकसंवत् १०१६ (वि.सं. ११५४) श्रावण शुक्ल द्वितीया शनिश्चरवार स्वातिनक्षत्र रिपुपर्द लग्ना श्रीनान्यदेव राजाले (राजधानीको) जा हाले । राज्यसंस्थापक नान्यदेव भए । अनि उनका छोरा श्रीगङ्गदेव राजा भए । उनका छोरा राजा नरसिंहदेव भए । अनि रामसिंह भए । उनका छोरा भवसिंह भए । अनि कर्मसिंह भए । उनका छोरा काणाट राजामा श्रेष्ठ हरसिंहदेव भए । शकसंवत् १२४५ (वि.सं. १३८०) पौष शुक्ल नवमी शनिवारमा हरसिंहदेव दुर्भाग्यले गर्दा आफूनी देश छोडी पहाडतिर पसे ।

समुद्रबाट चन्द्रमा जस्तै हरसिंहदेवबाट वल्लालसिंह जन्मे । उनीबाट ठूला महिमा भएका श्रीदेवमल राजा भए । अनि उनीबाट नागमल भए । उनका छोरा प्रतापी धर्मात्मा अशोकमल भए । उनका छोरा जयस्थितिमलदेव भए । तिन्बाट राजा जययदामल भए । उनी नाउ चेल्ला र प्रतापी थिए । उनका छोरा रायमल भए । उनका छोरा नाउ चेल्ला भुवमल भए । उनबाट दानी श्रीप्राणमल, उनका छोरा विश्वमल भए । उनका छोरा त्रैलोक्यमल राजा भए । समुद्रबाट चन्द्रमा जस्तै, सूर्यबाट घाम जस्तै, उन्बाट कर्ण जस्ता अर्जुन जस्ता गुणी विद्या जान्ने राजामा श्रेष्ठ भएका श्रीजगज्ज्योतिर्मल भए । ... उनका (जातप्रकाशमलका) छोरा सुमति श्रीजयजितामित्रमल भए । उनका छोरा श्रीभूपतीन्द्रमल भए । उनका छोरा श्रीरणजिमल भए । उनले ४८ वर्ष राज्य गरे । पहिले सप्तकोशीसम्म राज्य गरे ; पछि बुढेस-कालमा काशीवास गर्न गए । उही उनको मृत्यु भयो ।

ने.सं. ८६० (वि.सं. १८२६) कार्तिक शुक्ल एकादशीको दिन गोरखाका राजा (पृथ्वी-नारायण शाह) बाह्र हजार भक्तपुसा प्रवेश गरे । चन्द्रवंशी महाराज श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाह वहादुर शमशेर जङ्गदेवले श्रीरणजिमल, श्रीजयप्रकाशमल, श्रीतिजनरसिमल तीन राजालाई जित्ने काष्मण्डप, लल्लिपवन, भक्तपवन तीन शहर दखल गरे । अनि सप्तकोशी र सप्तगण्डकीसम्म राज्य गरे । धेरै राजालाई जित्ने राज्य गरे । वर्ष ४२ । श्रीपृथ्वीनारायण शाहका छोरा श्रीप्रतापसिंह शाह वहादुर शमशेरजङ्गदेवले २ वर्ष, ११ महीना राज्य गरे । अनि शकसंवत् १६६६ (वि.सं. १८३४) मार्ग कृष्ण तृतीयाको दिन उनका छोरा श्रीरणबहादुर शाह शमशेर जङ्गदेव राजा भए । उनले श्रीहरकुमारदवसेन आदिलाई जित्ने काली गण्डकीसम्म राज्य गरे । वि.सं. १८४७ पौष शुक्ल दशमीको दिनसम्ममा जाजरकोट, थपला दुल्लु देखि अक्लाम डोटी कुमाउ गढवाल श्रीनार हड्डार, त्यसको दक्षिण गङ्गोवरी उबर बढी केदारसम्म राज्य जिते ।

टिप्पणीहरू -

१. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख', त्रि० वि० नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, काठमाडौं, वि.सं. २०३०, पृ. १-६००
(यस ग्रन्थमा १६० वटा अभिलेख परेका छन् । यसमा नपरेका अरू आठवटा लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख प्राप्त भइसकेका छन् ।)
२. 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख' पृ. ५६०
३. 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख' पृ. ५८१, ५८६, ५९१, ५९५, ५९६
४. 'सम्यक्पूजा' प्रसङ्गमा भेला गराइने सयौं दीपङ्क० रका धातुका मूर्तिहरूमध्ये निकै मध्यकालको शुल्म बनेका देखिएका छन् । यस्तै गरी यस्ताकाका अरू धातुका मूर्तिहरूलाई पनि यस प्रसङ्गमा ओल्याउन सकिन्छ ।
५. 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख' पृ. ४७५
६. रामजी तिवारी र अरू, 'ऐतिहासिक पत्रसंग्रह' दोस्रो भाग, नेपाल सांस्कृतिक परिषद्, काठमाडौं, वि.सं. २०२१, पृष्ठ १, १७-१८, २२-२४, ४४-४५,
७. पशुपतिनाथको भण्डारमा यदामल्लभन्दा यताका ताम्रपत्रहरू मात्र छन् । त्यसभन्दा अधिका ताम्रपत्रहरू कारणवश लुप्त भएको स्पष्ट छ ।
८. शिवदेव र आनन्ददेवको पालाका उपत्यकाबाहिर लेखिएका दुइ ताम्रपत्र हाल पाइएको सूचनाले यस कुराको सम्भावना भन्नु बढी देखापरेको छ ।
९. दिनेशराज पन्त, 'पूणिमा' ३० पूणाङ्क०, संशोधनमण्डल, काठमाडौं, वि.सं. २०३० पृ. १३५-३८, (यस निबन्धमा मूल वाक्यको उद्धरणसाथ 'दैराज्य' पद्धतिको परिचय दिइएको छ ।)
१०. कौटलीय अर्थशास्त्र, ८ अधिकरण, २ अध्याय,
११. 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख' पृ. ४०३, ४५३,
१२. राहुल साङ्गुक्त्यायन, 'संस्कृत पाम्लीफ् म्यान्युस्क्रिप्ट्स इन् टिबेट', जर्नल अफ द विहार योन्डु ओरिसा रिसर्च सोसाइटी, वर्ष २३, पृ. २६
१३. संशोधनमण्डल, 'इतिहास-संशोधनको प्रमाण प्रमेय' जगदम्बाप्रकाशन, ललितपुर, वि.सं. २०१६, पृ. ४
१४. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य र टेकबहादुर श्रेष्ठ, 'दोखाको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा', त्रि० वि० नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययनसंस्थान, काठमाडौं, वि.सं. २०३१, पृ. २६,
१५. उही, पृ. ६०
१६. सैसिल बेन्डाल, 'क्याटलु अफ द बुद्धिस्ट संस्कृत म्यान्युस्क्रिप्ट्स इन् दि युनिभर्सिटि लाइब्रेरि क्याम्ब्रिज', ई.सं. १८८३, पृ. ३-४
१७. रामजी तिवारी र अरू 'अभिलेख संग्रह' नवी भाग, संशोधनमण्डल, काठमाडौं, वि.सं. २०२०, पृ. २४-२५
१८. लुशियानी पेटेक, 'मेडिडमल हिस्ट्री अफ नेपाल', रोम, ई.सं. १९५८, पृ. ३६
१९. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य र टेकबहादुर श्रेष्ठ, 'नुवाकोटको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा' त्रि० वि० नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, काठमाडौं, वि.सं. २०३२, पृ. २८-२९
२०. संशोधनमण्डल, 'इतिहाससंशोधनको प्रमाणप्रमेय' पृ. १३४
२१. डिल्लीरमण रेग्मी, 'मेडिडमल नेपाली भाग १', पृ. ४३२
२२. 'इतिहास-संशोधनको प्रमाण प्रमेय' पृ. १३३, १३७
२३. उही, पृ. १३३-४४, ४-१७,
२४. 'दोखाको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा' पृ. ३१-३३

२५. उही, पृ. ३३-३५, ६८
२६. 'इतिहास-संशोधनको प्रमाणप्रमेय' पृ. ३, १२-१५
२७. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य र ज्ञानमणि नेपाल, 'ऐतिहासिक पत्रसंग्रह' पहिलो भाग, नेपाल सांस्कृतिक परिषद् काठमाडौं, वि.सं. २०१४, पृ. ३२-३५,
२८. 'दाल्खाको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा' पृ. ४४, १२३-२४
२९. कर्नालीप्रदेशका नागराजका वंशज शासकहरूमा जितारिमल्लपछि उनका छोरा र भतिजामा उवराधिकारी क्रमको लागि जुन गडवडी देखापरेको छ; त्यसमा पनि यही 'दैराज्य' पद्धतिले असर पारेको सक्ति पाइएको छ । त्यस विषयमा पछि अन्त विचार गरिन्छ ।
३०. 'नुवाकोटको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा' १८-१९
३१. 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख' पृ. ५७३
३२. उही, पृ. ३०६-१३
३३. 'नुवाकोटको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा' पृ. १८-२१
३४. यस ग्रन्थको परिचय माथि दिइसकेको छ । 'मेडिङमल हिस्ट्री अफ नेपाल' पृ. ३३
३५. लुशियानी पेटक 'मेडिङमल हिस्ट्री अफ नेपाल' पृ. ५०
३६. उही, पृ. ६४
३७. उही, पृ. ५०
३८. गौतमवज्र वज्राचार्य, 'पूणिमा' २ पूर्णाङ्क, संशोधन-मण्डल, वि.सं. २०२१, पृ. ४४
३९. यो अभिलेख यसै निबन्धमा तल दिइएको छ ।
४०. मरी शेपर्ड स्लसर, 'अन् द ऐन्टिक्विटि अफ नेपालिज् मेटल क्राफ्ट' आर्काइभ्स अफ एसियन आर्ट, अं २६ ई.सं. १९७५-७६, पृ. ८५
४१. डिल्लीरमण रेग्मी, 'मेडिङमल नेपाल' भाग १, पृ. १७८
४२. उही, पृ. १७८
४३. शङ्करमान राजवंशी, 'सेनवंशावली' वीरपुस्तकालय, श्री ५ को सरकार पुरातत्व-विभाग, काठमाडौं, वि.सं. २०२०, पृ. २३
४४. 'मेडिङमल हिस्ट्री अफ नेपाल' पृ. ५३
४५. उही, पृ. ७२
४६. उही पृ. ७२
४७. उही पृ. ५३, ७२-७३
४८. शङ्करमान राजवंशी, 'भक्तपुरका मल्लराजासँग सम्बन्ध राख्ने धरःपी' पूणिमा १३ पूर्णाङ्क, संशोधनमण्डल, काठमाडौं, वि.सं. २०२४, पृ. १२
४९. हरिमन्त खोज श्रेष्ठको संग्रहमा ती ताडपत्रहरू छन् ।
५०. 'मेडिङमल नेपाल' भाग १, पृ. २०७
५१. 'मेडिङमल हिस्ट्री अफ नेपाल' पृ. ४४
५२. उही, पृ. ४८
५३. उही, पृ. ५८
५४. 'अभिलेख-संग्रह' नवी भाग, पृ. २७
५५. रामजी तिवारी, देवीप्रसाद मण्डारी, भोलानाथ पौडेल, शङ्करमान राजवंशी, धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, गौतमवज्र वज्राचार्य, महेशराज पन्त, नयनाथ पौडेलद्वारा यो सम्पादित भएको हो ।
५६. 'मेडिङमल हिस्ट्री अफ नेपाल' पृ. ७३-७४

५७. डिल्लीसण रेग्मी 'मेडिडमल नेपाल' भाग ३, पृ. ६
५८. 'अभिलिख-संग्रह' नवी भाग, पृ. १४
५९. 'पूणिमा' ५ पूणाङ्क, पृ. ११
६०. 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलिखे' पृ. ५६६
६१. तत तश्चात् गोपालहिषपाल निज्जित्यः किरातराज प्रवर्ततः
(गोपालराजवंशावली १७ पत्रबाट)
६२. 'अथः सूर्यवम्सप्रभावात् नेपाले किरातराजा निज्जित्य लिच्छवीवम्स प्रवर्ततः ॥'
(गोपालराजवंशावली १६ पत्रबाट)
६३. 'तत पश्चात्सूर्यवंश निज्जित्यः पुन गोपालवर्षिनः प्रभावाद् राज कृतम्'
(गोपालराजवंशावली २१ पत्रबाट)
६४. 'मेडिडमल हिस्ट्री अफ नेपाल' पृ. २१३
६५. 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलिखे' पृ. २६०
६६. उही, पृ. २२३-२४
६७. रकातिर 'वृष' र अर्कोतिर 'शिव' अङ्कित यस्ता साना मुद्राहरू श्रीस्मिराज शाक्यज्यूको संग्रहमा छन् । तिनमा अङ्कित लिपि अंशुवर्माको ताकाको र त्यसपछिको रहेको छ ।
६८. 'मेडिडमल नेपाल' भाग १, पृ. १०५
६९. डेनियल राइट 'हिस्ट्री अफ नेपाल' दोस्रो संस्करण (कलकत्तासंस्करण), पृ. ७
७०. 'मेडिडमल नेपाल' भाग ३, पृ. १५ । मूखबाट पढी हामीले यस अभिलिखको बढी शुद्ध पाठ पढेका छौं । 'मध्यकालका अभिलिखे'मा व्याख्यासहित सो परेको छ ।
७१. 'अभिलिख-संग्रह' दोस्रो भाग, पृ. ११
७२. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य र जगदीशचन्द्र रेग्मी, 'एपिग्राफिक सर्भ रिपोर्ट' त्रि० वि० नेपाल अध्ययन संस्थान, वि.सं. २०२६, पृ. ३
७३. 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलिखे' पृ. ५५६-५७
७४. उही, पृ. २६६, ४३४,
७५. 'ऐतिहासिक पत्र संग्रह' दोस्रो भाग, पृ. ४५
७६. 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलिखे' ४०४
७७. उही, पृ. ४५८
७८. 'अभिलिख-संग्रह' नवी भाग, पृ. २४
७९. 'इतिहास-संशोधनको प्रमाणप्रमय' पृ. १२-१३, १६
८०. 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलिखे' पृ. ५४४
- ८०(क) 'इतिहास संशोधनको प्रमाणप्रमय' पृ. ४-६
८१. 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलिखे' पृ. ५८१
८२. 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलिखे' पृ. १७५, १७७, ४७२
८३. शिवदेव, आनन्ददेवका पालाका अभिलिखबाट हामी यो कुरा थाहा पाउँछौं । विशेष गरेर हाल राष्ट्रिय संग्रहालय काठमाडौंमा रहेको ने.सं. २६२को अभिलिखबाट उक्त कुराको पुष्टि हुन्छ । सो अभिलिख प्रौढ संस्कृतपद्यमा लेखिएको छ । भारतबाट विद्वान्हरू यहाँ आईरहन लागेको उल्लेख त्यस अभिलिखमा परेको छ ।
८४. यस ग्रन्थको परिचय माथि दिइसकिएको छ ।
८५. 'राजा श्रीगुणकामदेव वर्ष ८५ मा ६ तेन श्रीपशुपतिभटारकाय रकादश कोष संप्रदत्ता । तत्रैव मीशान्येस्वर भटारकस्य ताम्रसंस्लसंस्कादनं कृता ॥ तत्रैव दीर्घ चौपाट्टी कृताः तत्रैव स्ववर्णपिनाली कृताः कौटि होम पूणार्ति कृतम् ॥' (२३ पत्रबाट)
(परिशिष्टमा दिइएको 'संदिग्ध गोपालवंशावली'मा पनि यो वर्णन परेको छ)
८६. डेनियल राइट, 'हिस्ट्री अफ नेपाल' दोस्रो संस्करण (कलकत्तासंस्करण), पृ. ६१-६२

८७. दोलखाको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा पृ. ३-४
८८. अभिलेखपुस्तक यी धातुमूर्ति हाल अमेरिका, न्यूयोर्कमा ज्याक जिम्मेरम्यानको संकलनमा रहेको छ ।
- मरी शेपर्ड स्लसर, 'अन् द ऐन्टिक्विटि अफ नेपालिज् मेटल क्राफ्ट', आर्काइभ्स अफ एशियन आर्ट, अङ्क २६, ई.सं. १९७५-७६, पृ. ८४-८५
८९. यसको चर्चा माथि परिसकेको छ ।
९०. परिशिष्टमा दिइएको 'संक्षिप्त गोपालवंशावली'मा यसको वर्णन परेको छ ।
९१. 'आर्काइभ्स अफ एशियन आर्ट' अङ्क २६, पृ. ८८
९२. यसको उल्लेख माथि गरिसकेको छ ।
९३. परिशिष्टमा दिइएको 'संक्षिप्त गोपालवंशावली'मा यस कुराको वर्णन परेको छ ।
९४. मोहनप्रसाद खनाल, 'मध्यकालीन अभिलेख', काठमाडौं, वि.सं. २०३०, पृ. ७९
९५. 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख' पृ. ५०-५१, ५५-५६, ४३१
९६. उही, पृ. ५०
९७. उही, पृ. २४९
९८. उही, पृ. ४-६
९९. 'मडिङ्गमल हिस्ट्री अफ नेपाल' पृ. २१३-२१७
१००. यसको मूल प्रति हाल मेरो संग्रहमा रहेको छ ।



book review

three books on planning in nepal

A. Beenhakker, A Kaleidoscopic Circumspection of Development Planning (Rotterdam University Press, 1973), pp. xvii, 165, iii. John C. Beyer, Budget Innovations in Developing Countries: The Experience of Nepal (Praeger: New York, 1973), pp. xii, 162, xiv. Naomi Caiden and Aaron Wildavsky, Planning and Budgeting in Poor Countries (John Wiley and Sons: New York, 1974), pp. xvii, 323, xlv.

Dr. Arie Beenhakker's A Kaleidoscopic Circumspection of Development Planning is one of those short, tightly written books that are a challenge to read. There is very little in the planning process that he has omitted. The book grew out of Dr. Beenhakker's experience as an adviser to Nepal's Planning Commission (August 1967 to September 1971). It is in fact a slightly enlarged version of a paper he prepared and published for limited circulation while he was still serving in Nepal (Nepal, Mini-Economy: Maxi-Challenge, August 1970, mimeographed). Chapter Five, 'A Framework for the Methodology of Planning for Progress: Realistic Encounters', is totally new and represents his analysis of the planning process itself.

Dr. Beenhakker's work in Nepal was contemporaneous with that of Dr. John C. Beyer, who served in Nepal (also as an adviser to 'Planning') from May 1968 to May 1970, returning frequently over the next few years for short periods of assessment and advice. There is a certain linkage in their books as well. Dr. Beenhakker urges, among other improvements to the planning structures, the adoption of programme budgeting (PPBS), which was Dr. Beyer's major contribution during his years as an adviser in Planning and to the Finance Ministry.

Despite Dr. Beenhakker's specialization as an econometrician, one is pleasantly surprised at his sensitivity to the significance of social, political, and religious factors in the development process. Throughout his book, in fact, he shows a decided bias for social environmental factors in the planning process as opposed to the purely economic model one might have expected from him. There is a great realism about the book; the experience of a man who has been exposed to the tensions of planning in an administration that was still trying to find its way. In a sense the book is outdated, insofar as the whole planning structure of government has been changed. But in a far truer sense the book is meaningful even today. His emphasis on decentralization, the linkage of the tax structure to the Panchayat System, the desirability of field data over broad statistics, the evils of masking a project's real achievement by the monetary veil of GDP or similar monetary formulas, and the inability of the administration to tackle basic development problems because of the opposition of vested interest groups mark the book as the work of a man who has more than superficial exposure to the development problem of Nepal today. The book is a real window into Nepal's planning world, with interesting insights into its potentialities and its weaknesses.

The style of the book is something else. Dr. Beenhakker has combined an enormous amount of data and analysis with a conciseness of expression that is challenging in itself. However, when this style is coupled with his, at times, unusual use of the English language, Dr. Beenhakker's ideas seem laboured and unnecessarily difficult. The book has no preface. There is thus no way of knowing the readership for whom the book was intended. It is too complicated for the layman and too summary in its statement of problems to be of significant assistance to planners. Presumably it was written as one more addition to the vast body of literature on planning and development that has been growing in geometric proportions since the era of economic development and international aid was first launched. This is unfortunate. We need the insight that men like Dr. Beenhakker have to offer, but we need it in clear and simple lessons. Apparently, we cannot have everything. A Kaleidoscopic Circumspection of Development Planning is a book offering a good deal of insight and many lessons from experience in planning in Nepal for those with the patience and determination to study it.

Dr. John Beyer's Budget Innovations in Developing Countries: The Experience of Nepal is a clearly written, fascinating account of the effort of Nepal's Finance Ministry to introduce programme budgeting into Nepal's fiscal system. Actually, the book is more than this. It is also a very cogent argument for the introduction of programme budgeting as a more effective planning tool than the structuring of comprehensive development plans.

The history of programme budgeting has not been one of brilliant success. In no individual instance can programme budgeting be singled out as the key to the development tangle, and not even in highly sophisticated budgeting situations where programme budgeting has been tried can it be said that it succeeded. It would seem that this constitutes a direct denial of Dr. Beyer's thesis. However, this is not necessarily so. The basic argument that is forwarded is that a well-formulated national budget is the clearest statement of a nation's true plans for any given fiscal year is still sound. If the budget does not reflect the nation's intentions as regards financing government plans and programmes, either those programmes will not be undertaken or they are so poorly planned that they have little hope of success. Planning is basically an effort to direct a nation's resources towards clearly defined objectives according to national priorities. Beyer argues, as do Caiden and Wildavsky, that it is critical to the success of planning that plans actually be represented in the budget. Assuming that a budget is what it purports to be, it seems difficult to avoid this conclusion.

The questions that Beyer discusses are two: Is programme budgeting an efficient way to make the budget reflect more clearly the national intentions? and secondly: Is the use of trained manpower for programme budgeting a more efficient use of these scarce personnel than the division of trained manpower between a National Planning Commission and the budgeting division of the Finance Ministry? As one might expect, Dr. Beyer qualifies his answers to these questions very closely. Drawing on his experience with the introduction of programme budgeting in Nepal, he points out with considerable frankness the shortcomings in the method employed for introducing Nepal's version of the programme budgeting system, but he has also indicated important areas where programme budgeting (or at least Nepal's version of programme budgeting) led to a clearer assessment of the development picture than had been available before programme budgeting was introduced. At the time when he wrote, it was already clear that his thesis was not going to be tested in Nepal, and changes that have taken place both in the Finance Ministry and in the National Planning Commission since that time indicate that there is small hope that it will be so tested over the short-term. What will happen over a more extended period of time is, of course, difficult for anyone to say.

Informed people in Nepal speculate about the very possibility of carrying out a genuinely successful experiment in programme budgeting. They wonder whether the task is not simply beyond the powers of any finance ministry to perform. Certainly what Nepal has now would not fulfill the definition of programme budgeting in any strict accounting. The vital question remains: Is Nepal better off today in a development way after adopting this modified version of programme budgeting than it was before?

The book is an important contribution to the literature on Nepal's development. Dr. Beyer has not only given us a detailed treatment of key steps taken in the development of the Finance Ministry which makes his book invaluable for the economic historian of Nepal. He has also posed some very sound questions for government and planners to consider. More than that, I would say that his book is an important contribution for anyone who is concerned with the way things are done or could be done in Nepal's development. A careful observer can surely note those points where the evolution of the planning concept in Nepal has already indicated the correctness of his views on the planning function itself. I suggest that any reader of Dr. Beyer's book will find himself better informed and also better prepared to question in an intelligent way the processes of planning and development activity in Nepal.

In Planning and Budgeting in Poor Countries Caiden and Wildavsky have given us a book that good-humouredly pokes fun at the seriousness of the planning process. From the introductory prologue through to the final page, the book is a light, easy-to-read commentary on the plans and excuses that the age of development planning has produced. In my own mind the commentary runs at times to caricature, but it is good caricature and good fun. It is also provocative. Perhaps it is no longer possible for a single book to do justice to the literature and the development achievements and failures of the developing countries. But the challenge is there, and so also is the need to try to learn from the immense effort that has gone into planned development throughout the world. Caiden and Wildavsky have given us a good book, solidly based on the literature and capturing delightful insights into the poses assumed by official planners and their advisers. It is a joy to read a book about development that does not assume: a) it has all the answers; b) it has the critical answer; c) that there is no answer; or d) that the situation is so grim that unless an answer is found today there is little hope for the world tomorrow.

Caiden and Wildavsky say nothing really important about development as such. Just how a poor nation, or a developing nation, is going to pull itself out of lethargy and begin to make progress is not really the subject matter of their study. They do say a great deal about the efforts to plan and finance development that governments in different parts of the world have been and are attempting. I am quite sure that many an official who was interviewed in the course of the research that led to this book will be astonished at the way his comments have been used to build a mosaic of good-humoured condemnation of the whole planning process. I also think that much of the humour in the book rises from the halls of academia, which are fairly distantly removed from the real problems of poverty and human suffering that the world of developing countries connotes. I find that it is a great deal easier to maintain a sense of humour when discussing systems in the abstract than when I contemplate the human side of the problems of poverty, exploitation, and inadequate structures that development people constantly face. Perhaps this is one reason why I find myself so grateful to Caiden and Wildavsky. They have traced the whole route that planning for development has travelled in the last twenty-five years, once over lightly, and then suggested that one reason for the sense of frustration that planners feel is the basic fact that they are trying to do the impossible. Perhaps one reason why effective planning isn't found in poor countries is the fact that the data required for planning is just too expensive to acquire. If a country could afford to assemble this data, it would not be a poor country. It may also be that planning assumes the ability to predict human behaviour, which implicitly assumes knowledge of most of the motivational factors in society. Another seeming impossibility in a poor country.

Caiden and Wildavsky see planning as the rational application of a nation's resources to the achievement of specific development objectives. Their complaint is that when the planning exercise is done, planners, like the rest of humankind, accept the 'possible' and go along with whatever de facto 'works', regardless of their plans. Is this the most effective way to use the nation's resources? Seminars on planning have for years discussed the concept of 'development'. There must be almost as many definitions of development as there are major authorities in the field of planning. Caiden and Wildavsky reverse the process by discussing the notion of poverty. As they say, 'No approach to poor countries can succeed unless it is firmly grounded in an appreciation of their basic characteristics. The fact of poverty itself is the greatest obstacle to its removal. Poverty is not merely a condition to be overcome but the major cause of its own continuance.' (p. 31) Applying this principle, they say, 'In this book we give poverty an extended meaning. Low-income countries are poor for reasons other than lack of money. Their poverty extends to information, trained manpower, and public institutions..... the poor country finds it hard to increase its wealth rapidly because its population lacks skills, its information base is bad or non-existent, and its governments are unable to mobilize resources. The whole life of the society is affected by scarcity. Poverty has become a structural problem ... a self-propelling dynamic process.' (pp. 46-7).

They find the answer to the question: How can governments of poor countries use their resources most rationally to achieve their objectives? in the budgeting process. They decry the tendency towards 'repetitive budgeting', whereby finance ministries draw up a paper budget and then throughout the fiscal year fight a battle of fiscal restraint against the individual departments' efforts to pry loose the sums the budget promised them or ward off the department's demand for more. They recognize the claims of programme budgeting as promising, but decide that no government can really make it work and few governments truly understand it. What they urge is a system they call 'continuous budgeting.' As they put it, 'Rather than make believe the annual budget is meaningful when it isn't, we suggest that poor countries put their experience to good use by institutionalizing procedures for reconsideration during the year. Since the budget must be renegotiated constantly, adoption of continuous budgeting should be better than the present method.' (p. x) Explaining their concept of 'continuous budgeting' further, they say: 'The annual budget becomes a statement of what each agency spent in the previous year as nearly as that can be determined. The best (though not necessarily a good) guide to the year ahead is the one that has just ended. Only three basic questions are considered in compiling the budget. What did each agency spend last year? Are there built-in increases such as a rise in salaries that should be added to the total? Are there expenditures that should and could be eliminated? Departments that want additions to this budgetary base can come in at anytime

during the year with their justifications. They would have to convince the finance ministry, with its project evaluation office, that there were significant advantages in the proposed expenditure, and finance, in turn, would have a current notion of competing demands and available resources. Departments would know that a request for an increase carried with it the possibility that finance would suggest cuts instead, or that they would ask for the money to be taken out of existing expenditures.' (p. 316)

I am not sure that Caiden and Wildavsky have not had recourse to the same ploy that they accuse the planners of using (after the rational exercise is over, one does in the final event what works) or whether they have 'solved' the problem by institutionalizing it. I do know that a surprising number of government planners and finance people who should have seen this book either have not seen it or pretend not to have done so. It's a pity. I would not like to think that the frustration many feel with the constraints imposed by the planning mechanism were a part of our daily burden because those who structure plans are not willing to take a fresh look at basic concepts.

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